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1908-9.

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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CONSERVATION (GENERAL) . . . . .	1
Conservation of Mughal palace buildings at Delhi, Agra and Lahore, 1; Takht-i-Bahi, 3; Western circle, 3; Eastern circle, 4.	
THE TEMPLE OF BHITARAGHON . . . . .	5
Brick architecture, 5; temple of Bhitarghon, 8; mediæval brick temples, 10; temple at Parauli, 10; temples at Râr and Sinhhua, 18; temple at Tindalli, 19; temple at Bahuk, 19; temples at Kurâri, 20; temples at Thithauri, 21.	
CONSERVATION IN MADRAS . . . . .	22
Vijayanagar, 22; Gingee, 25; temple at Kurugunathan, 28; Dansborg at Tranquebar, 28.	
CONSERVATION IN BURMA . . . . .	29
The Poulawpaya of Mingun, 30; the Mingalazedi Pagoda, 31.	
EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH (GENERAL) . . . . .	33
The Garuda pillar of Bémagar, 33; the relic-casket of Kanishka, 35; the Mathurâ school of sculpture, 34; excavations at Saheth, 34; Magdôr, 35; Mangûra-Brâhmanâbâd, 35; Amarâvatî, 36; Perambalur, 36; and Bahrain, 36.	
✓ EXCAVATIONS AT SHÄN-SI-KI-CHERI . . . . .	38
Identification with the pagoda of Kanishka, 38; excavations in 1907-08, 39; excavations in 1908-09, 43; main monument found, 44; discovery of relic chamber, 48; description of relic-casket, 49; inscription on relic-casket, 51; secondary monuments, 53; sculptures in stone and stucco, 53; inscribed bricks, 55; the monastery mound, 56; minor finds, 57.	
✓ THE SEPULCHRAL TUMULI OF BAHRÄIN . . . . .	60
History of Bahrain, 60; geographical description, 65; previous excavations, 66; result of the latest enterprise, 68.	
EXCAVATIONS AT BRÄHMANÄBÄD-MANGÜRA, SIND . . . . .	70
Site of mosque, 70; the <i>tâkt</i> , 83; supposed chessmen, 86; finds, 86.	
EXCAVATIONS AT AMARÄVATÎ . . . . .	88
Nature of excavations, 88; gold reliquary, 88; bronze statuettes, 89; neolithic graves, 90.	
PREHISTORIC REMAINS AT PERAMBALUR . . . . .	92
Nature of site, 92; description of graves, 92; list of finds, 97.	
THE TEMPLES OF ORISÄ . . . . .	100
Orisâ and its legends, 100; eastern-most group of temples, 101; temple of Piplâ Dêvi, 107; Jaina temple, 108; temple of Saohiya Mâtâ, 109; general conclusions 112.	

	PAGE.
<b>EPICRAPHY (GENERAL)</b> . . . . .	116
Inscriptions edited in the <i>Asiatic Researches</i> 116; <i>Manu</i> and <i>Varada</i> inscriptions 116; Pathar-pilar inscription of Parvatala 116; Vasantagupta inscription of Varanasi 117; three Pratihāra inscriptions 117; history of Basti 117; Kumbh plates of Kirtivarmā II 117; Bhala-Gaya railing inscriptions 118; Ashok Museum inscriptions 118; other inscriptions from Rājputāra 118; South-east Indian inscriptions 119; Pallavas 120; Chāngā-Pallavas 121; Pāṇḍyas 121; Cholas 121; Persians from Sangarāra 123; Basant State inscriptions 123; <i>Vijaya-nagara</i> inscriptions 124; inscriptions from Burma 124; Tamil Śāiva inscriptions 124.	
<b>THE GARUDA PILLAR OF BHENAGAR</b> . . . . .	126
Description of pillar 126; <i>Vaṃśakuta</i> Helikaṇṭha inscription of Bhāradvāja and Kaṇḍikā Bhagabhadra 127; text 128; translation 129.	
<b>AN INSCRIBED SCULPTURE IN THE PESHĀWAR MUSEUM</b> . . . . .	130
Description of sculpture 130; text and translation 131.	
<b>A BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM ŚĀLĀVASTĪ</b> . . . . .	138
General remarks 138; note 139; text and translation 139; identified with the Jētavana 137; Mathurā school of sculpture 138.	
<b>NOTES ON BODHI-GAYĀ</b> . . . . .	139
The Bodhi-tree 139; the account of the meeting at Bodhi-Gayā 141; Bodhi festival worship at Bodhi-Gayā 148; selected inscriptions from Bodhi-Gayā 150; pilgrims from Ceylon 156; a pilgrim from Lower Bengal 157.	
<b>NĀGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT MATHURĀ</b> . . . . .	158
Surnames of the Nāga King Dattakāraṇa 159; selected Nāga images of Cetrargāra 160; other Nāga images 161; Nāga images worshipped as Dattakāraṇa 162; selected Nāga images of Gupta period 163.	
<b>THE SECOND VIJAYANAGAR DYNASTY; ITS VICEKINGS AND MINISTERS</b> . . . . .	164
Narasimha 164; who were the Śaivites 164; pedigree of the Śālivāsas 165; Narasimha 165; sons of Narasimha 167; <i>Vijaya-Narasimha</i> 167; <i>Kṛṣṇa-Narasimha</i> 167; Śālivāsa 168; <i>Appa</i> 168; minister and general 168; <i>Vijaya</i> 167; <i>Saṃvatsara</i> 167; <i>Itāmaṇḍa</i> 167; battle of Tāṭhikōṭa 169.	
<b>A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN PESHĀWAR CITY</b> . . . . .	203
Preservation and condition of inscription 203; text and translation 204; note by Mr. W. Irvine 205.	



# LIST OF PLATES.

	Page.
PLATE I.—Temple of Bhitaragāon in 1878 . . . . .	6
" II.—Temple of Bhitaragāon. Ground-plan . . . . .	8
" III.—Temple of Bhitaragāon. Section . . . . .	11
" IV.—Temple of Bhitaragāon. Front elevation . . . . .	12
" V.—Temple of Bhitaragāon. Detail north-east angle . . . . .	14
" VI.—Temple at Pārun: (a) Front view, from north-west. (b) Back view, from south-east . . . . .	15
" VII.—Temples at Kurāri: (a) Temple A from east. (b) Temple B from west . . . . .	16
" VIII.—Karnāghat Khāl from north . . . . .	18
" IX.—Mingun pagoda . . . . .	19
" X.—Plan of excavations at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri . . . . .	20
" XI.—Excavations at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri. (a) Main wall of <i>stūpa</i> , south-east end; (b) A few of the little <i>stūpas</i> on the south-east . . . . .	22
" XII.—XIII.—Excavations at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri. The relic-casket of Kanishka . . . . .	23
" XIV.—Excavations at Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri. (a) Stucco ornamentation on <i>stūpa</i> wall, northern side of western projection; (b) Kubera and Hariti; (c) the archery contest . . . . .	34
" XV.—The Bahrain Islands and coast of East Arabia . . . . .	62
" XVI.—Plan of mounds at 'Alī . . . . .	66
" XVII.—Excavations at Bahrain: (a) Mound A, from east, in foreground; (b) Mound A, H. C. E. and an unlettered one, from left to right . . . . .	68
" XVIII.—Excavations at Bahrain: (a) Mound B, from south-east; (b) Mound B, M. and L, from left to right, in foreground . . . . .	72
" XIX.—Excavations at Bahrain: (a) Mound E, in the course of excavation (9th November, 1906); (b) Tower in mound E, from south-east . . . . .	74
" XX.—Plan of Brāhmanābād-Mangūra . . . . .	80
" XXI.—Brāhmanābād-Mangūra: Plan of excavations; some objects unearthed . . . . .	80
" XXII.—Brāhmanābād, Sind. Excavated pottery . . . . .	81
" XXIII.—Brāhmanābād, Sind. Excavated glass bowl . . . . .	81
" XXIV.—Brāhmanābād-Mangūra. Plan, section and elevation of <i>dhāt</i> or tower . . . . .	84
" XXV.—Brāhmanābād-Mangūra: (a) The <i>dhāt</i> or tower from the west, before excavation; (b) Image frame, in black stone, found at Brāhmanābād . . . . .	84
" XXVI.—Brāhmanābād-Mangūra. (a) Relic-casket found by Mr. Bellasis in 1851; (b) Objects found by Mr. Bellasis . . . . .	85
" XXVII.—Excavations at Amarāvati. Golden relic-casket and other finds . . . . .	88
" XXVIII.—Excavations at Amarāvati. Bronze statuettes . . . . .	88

		PAGE.
PLATE	XXIX—XXXI Excavations at Aśokaśrāvastī. Stone fragments . . . . .	90
"	XXXII.—Excavation at Perambur . . . . .	92
"	XXXIII—XXXVI Excavations at Perambur . . . . .	96 and 98
"	XXXVII. Temples of Ōśā : (a) Temple of Harihara No. 1, from west ; (b) Temple of Harihara No. 2, from south . . . . .	100
"	XXXVIII. Temples of Ōśā : (a) Porch of subsidiary shrine, south-west of temple of Harihara No. 1 ; (b) Entrance to sanctum of temple of Harihara No. 2 . . . . .	102
"	XXXIX.—Temples of Ōśā : Temple of Harihara No. 3 from south-east ; (b) Temple of Harihara No. 3, from south-west . . . . .	104
"	XL.—Temples of Ōśā : (a) Temple of Śūrya No. 7, from north-west ; (b) Temple of Mahāvīra, from north . . . . .	106
"	XLI.—Temples of Ōśā : (a) Temple of Śūrya, entrance to sanctum ; (b) Temple of Piplā Dēvi, pillar of mandapa . . . . .	106
"	XLII.—Temples of Ōśā : (a) Temple of Śūrya No. 7, from north ; (b) Temple of Piplā Dēvi . . . . .	108
"	XLIII.—Temples of Ōśā : (a) Torana in front of Jain temple ; (b) Temple of Mahāvīra, porch . . . . .	110
"	XLIV.—Temples of Ōśā : Temples of Sachivā Mātā from north- west ; (b) Shrine close to Sachivā Mātā . . . . .	112
"	XLV.—The Garuḍa pillar of Bēsnagar . . . . .	128
"	XLVI.—Bēsnagar pillar inscription . . . . .	128
"	XLVII.—Described Garuḍa sculpture in Peshawar Museum . . . . .	130
"	XLVIII.—Sāleth Bōdhīśattva image inscription . . . . .	136
"	XLIX.—Notes on Bōdhī-Gayā : (a) Temple from north-east ; (b) Bodhi tree, west of temple . . . . .	140
"	L.—Notes on Bōdhī-Gayā : (a) Vajrasana below Bōdhī tree ; (b) Pippl tree north of temple . . . . .	142
"	LI-LII.—Notes on Bōdhī-Gayā. Railways pillars . . . . .	144-146
"	LIII.—Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā. Nāga statue from Chhargā- ḥon : (a) Front ; (b) Back . . . . .	160
"	LIV.—Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā : (a) Nāga figure from Mathurā city ; (b) Nāga figure from Kukargām . . . . .	160
"	LV.—Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā : (a) Nāga figure in Luck- now Museum ; (b) Modern statuette of Baludēva . . . . .	162
"	LVI.—Inscriptions on Nāga images : (a) Chhargāḥon Nāga image inscription ; (b) Nāga image inscription in Lucknow Museum . . . . .	162
"	LVII.—Persian inscription from Peshawar . . . . .	204

## TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
<b>THE TEMPLE OF HĪTARĀJĀS</b>	
Fig. 1. Sūlon temple inscription . . . . .	7
" 2. Terra-cotta group of Gaṇeśa . . . . .	10
" 3. Poreh of Hītargāṇ temple . . . . .	12
" 4. Hītargāṇ temple repaired . . . . .	13
" 5. Entrance to Hītā temple . . . . .	15
" 6. Plan of temple at Parauli . . . . .	17
" 7. Detail of temple at Parauli . . . . .	18
<b>CONSERVATION IN MADRAS—</b>	
Fig. 1. Hēmakūṭam Jambh temple at Vijayanagar . . . . .	23
" 2. The "watered ed" at Vijayanagar . . . . .	24
" 3. The Queen's Hall . . . . .	25
" 4. The Kalyāṇa Mahall . . . . .	26
" 5. The Chār-mīnār . . . . .	27
" 6. The Tanjore Fort . . . . .	28
<b>CONSERVATION IN BOMBAY—</b>	
Fig. 1. The Poṇṇawpaya . . . . .	30
" 2. The Mingaluzedi Pagoda . . . . .	31
<b>EXCAVATIONS AT SŪĀ-ĀLI-KHĪRĀBĀD</b>	
Fig. 1. Pagoda Mound before excavation . . . . .	34
" 2. Clay tablet with Buddhist creed . . . . .	38
" 3. Stūpa fragments . . . . .	54
" 4. Inscribed bricks . . . . .	56
" 5. Temple ornament . . . . .	58
<b>THE SELEUCID TOMB AT BAGERAT</b>	
Fig. 1. View of mounds from south-west, and of 'Ālī village in the distance . . . . .	60
" 2. Interior of Mound B (lower chamber) . . . . .	70
" 3. Finger ring and two beads . . . . .	73
" 4. Interior of Mound G. . . . .	71
" 5. Ivory bull's leg found in Mound J. . . . .	75
" 6. Interior of small tomb . . . . .	76
" 7. Pottery from the tombs . . . . .	77
<b>EXCAVATIONS AT BRĪHMANĀBHĪD-MANĢŪRA, SINDH—</b>	
Fig. 1. Foundations, brick drain and well . . . . .	80
" 2. Brick drain, foundations, well, and libation slab connected with drain . . . . .	81
" 3. Libation slab, leading by pipe into main drain . . . . .	82
" 4. Remains of brick arch . . . . .	83
" 5. Ivory nut belonging to the back of a settee in Maṇṣūr palace . . . . .	85
" 6. Restoration of supposed chessmen . . . . .	86
" 7. Supposed dice, in reality, portions of a necklace . . . . .	86



	PAGE
EXCAVATIONS AT AMARĀVATĪ—	
Fig. 1-2. Prehistoric graves of the neolithic period . . . . .	80-91
PREHISTORIC REMAINS AT PERAMBARE—	
Fig. 1. Pyriform tomb from cromlech No. 0 . . . . .	93
" 2. Pottery in centre of cromlech No. 7 . . . . .	94
" 3. Main deposit of cromlech No. 7 . . . . .	94
" 4. Cist from cromlech No. 8 . . . . .	95
" 5. Cist from cromlech No. 11 . . . . .	96
" 6. Oblong cist with pottery . . . . .	96
TEMPLES OF O-Ā—	
Fig. 1. Statuette of Kubera . . . . .	107
AN INSCRIBED SCULPTURE IN THE PESHĀWAR MUSEUM—	
Fig. 1. Facsimile of inscription . . . . .	131
A BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM ŚRĀVASTĪ—	
Fig. 1. Inscribed Bôdhisattva image . . . . .	133
NOTES ON BÔDH GAYĀ -	
Fig. 1. The modern village of Urel, the ancient Uruvelā near Bôdh-Gayā . . . . .	143
" 2. Barāhat rîhevo with inscription . . . . .	145
" 3. Inscription of the time of Dharmapāla, from Bôdh-Gayā . . . . .	148
A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN PESHĀWAR CITY—	
Fig. 1. Modern bridge over the Bāra stream . . . . .	205

## CONSERVATION.



IN this branch of archaeological activity the Muhammadan buildings—day a prominent part were particularly the palaces of the Mughls in the great centres Deda, Agra and Lahore. On the introduction of British rule these buildings could no longer serve their original purpose—the accommodation of a royal court. But as the palaces of the Great Mughls had at the same time the character of citadels, they were naturally selected to accommodate the British garrisons—the ancient Indian capitals. Consequently in every case the less important portions had to be demolished whereas the chief edifices were put to some practical use and thus preserved.

It has of late years been one of the aims of the Archaeological Department to reclaim and preserve these Mughal palace buildings. Restoration to their pristine state is of course out of the question. It would serve no useful end to rebuild those parts which have been demolished. Besides, as long as these forts are used for the accommodation of troops, their present purpose and the interests of their present occupants cannot be disregarded.

At Deda all buildings once utilized by the garrison have now been vacated and a commencement has been made to fence off the archaeological area from the grounds occupied by modern barracks. The archaeological area comprises all ancient buildings, including the Shah Burj, the Naqar Khana and the Mumtaz Mahal, and also the site of one of the main palace gardens named Hayāt Baghsh or Life-giver. The work of resuscitating this garden is slowly but steadily progressing. The paving of the main causeways was completed early in the year. But before the planting of trees and shrubs could be commenced, it appeared necessary to lower the level of the garden.

It was not until December that this work was taken in hand, and at the close of the official year at least one-third of the area of the Hayāt Baghsh had still to be cleared of its surface earth. In the restoration of the minor causeways also there was considerable delay, so that by the end of the year only half of the work had been completed.

The restoration of the main palace garden will add not a little to the interest of the Delhi palace, especially as the marble pavilions which belonged to it are still extant. The north-east corner is occupied by the Shah Burj or Royal Tower with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Maunier, *Storia do Afogor* (trans. Irvine), Vol. II, p. 463.

an adjoining marble hall facing the garden. This graceful little edifice was severely damaged by the earthquake of the 4th April 1905. Its repair was commenced in February 1908 and brought to a successful conclusion in June of the same year. The broken domes have been reconstructed and finials added and the pavilion is now in a sound and stable condition.

Another work in the Delhi palace deserving special mention is the erection of a marble balustrade along the river façade from the Hammām to the Rang Mahall replacing the unsightly iron and wooden railings which were such an eyesore. "The advisability of attempting a restoration of the original railings and screen," Mr. Tucker writes, "was considered fully but, although a certain amount of data was forthcoming for certain portions, yet this was not sufficient to ensure an accurate reproduction of the original. This, of course, prohibited any attempt at a reconstruction. The problem to be dealt with was the selection of a balustrade of sufficient height to make it effective, in architectural accord with its surroundings, and authorized by contemporary examples in the period to which the palace belongs. All these requisites have been successfully secured and the appearance of the great terrace is much improved."

An article on the subject of the palace at Agra was contributed by Mr. Tucker to the *Annals* of the preceding year.<sup>2</sup> In the year under review the work of clearing the site of Akbar's palace has been proceeded with, and the last of the modern excrescences, the magazine burnt in 1813, has been demolished.

I may note here that the work of conserving the eastern false gate or Akbar's Tomb at Sikandarah has now been completed. The conservation of the Rang Mahall at Fatehpur Sikri was also brought to an end. Unfortunately, during the rains the whole of the west wall had collapsed, but as it was only intended to rescue the building from further ruin, no attempt was made to restore the fallen façade.

In the Lahore Fort the legitimate work of rescue has come to a standstill—temporarily, it is hoped. Those buildings which remain to be dealt with are the most ancient and in many respects the most remarkable of the Lahore palace. But nothing can be done as long as they are being occupied and utilized by the Military Department.

To the three great capitals of the Moghal emperors may be added Ahalabad. The early Moghal buildings in the Fort, which fully deserve to be more widely known, have for some years engaged the attention of this Department. In the year under review the so-called Zama building a fine example of the architecture of Akbar's reign, has been taken in hand. The modern additions in which it was enveloped have been dismantled, and it is intended to take further measures for its conservation.

For further information regarding works of preservation carried out at Muhammadan buildings in the Northern Circle during 1908-09, I may refer to Mr. Tucker's Progress Report for that year.

*Annual Progress Report of the Architect and Surveyor, Northern Circle for the year ending 31st March 1909*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *I. S. R.* for 1907-08, pp. 8 ff.



As regards Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments in the same circle, the most important work of conservation was that carried out at the great brick temple of Bijarnagon in the Chawpore District. As a special article on the subject is given in the present volume, I need not enter here into any details.

The only work of conservation undertaken in the Frontier Circle in the year under review was the construction of clearance at the monastery of Pakl-i-Baki. The damage done to the site subsequent to the carrying out of the first repairs effected had made evident the high desirability of enclosing the entire monastic precinct from wandering gathervers and other mischievous peasants. In order to render this possible without constructing an unsightly fence around the site, a wholly unattempted was made to remove the debris from the outer face of the main walls on the south and east, with the hope that, by setting them clear, a large portion of the monastery would be found to be self-protected. This hope, however, was in large measure disappointed, inasmuch as what had seemed to be a mere passage-way between the main monastery and a separately detached building further to the south, was found to be a veritable series of small chambers connecting the two. Whether the complete clearance of these will allow the main monastic wall sufficient light to keep idlers from climbing over it is a point that can only be determined later, but there appears little hope that it will, and a more radical scheme may be necessary after all. In addition to this clearance on the south, considerable work was done to the south-east of the court of the many little stupas, and here a number of sculptures were found in what now appear to have been originally chapels. In general, however, the excavations this year, being for the most part outside the inner precinct of the monastery, did not yield any sculptural finds. But a very fine covered stairway on the south-west was found and thoroughly cleared, it, adding greatly to the interest of the site. A certain amount of work was also done toward the clearance of the passage and chambers to the west of the court of the many little stupas, which have hitherto been described as underground. In the course of the year's work, however, a window was discovered in one of these supposedly subterranean wells. It, therefore, appears more than possible that these chambers were originally free-standing structures. Further clearance in this portion of the site is planned for the coming year, when it is hoped that the point may be settled, for it is obviously of very peculiar interest.

Among the numerous works of conservation carried out at the Western Circle a few deserve special notice. The restoration of the great corner of the Gid Gumbaz at Bijapur was completed. The Jog Gumbaz at the same place still continues to be used as a residence, but it is hoped that it will ere long be vacated. The antedynastic collection of great guns and other objects, which for so many years adorned the area before the Gagan Mahal, has been arranged as a gun trophy in front of the Museum, the ancient Hall of Kettledrums or Naqar Khana.

The well-known cave temple on the island of Elephanta near Bombay required early attention, as during the monsoon of 1905 a large mass of rock fell from above the front of the caves. This was removed during the cold weather. The rain-water, which was responsible for this damage, percolates freely into the interior of the caves through natural fissures in the rock. As masses of the unsupported rock are liable

to fall at any moment, the work of rebuilding the missing and broken columns in the great cave has not been begun any too soon.

Mention must also be made of the fine Chalukyan temples scattered over the Dharwar and Belgaum districts, which have long needed attention to arrest further decay. During the year under review three of the best—at Degam and Gadag—were taken in hand.

The most important works of conservation in the Eastern Circle may also be briefly noticed. They relate in the first place to some of the famous monuments of Orissa, the Black Pagoda at Konarak, the temples at Bhubanēśvar and the caves at Khandagiri.

As regards the first and most important of these, the Black Pagoda, the late Dr. Bloch writes :—"The main problem, which we have to face at present . . . is the preservation of the spire. This part of the temple has now been completely cleared of *debora*. . . . and it now becomes evident that the spire of the temple never was completed, probably on account of the death of the king who built the Black Pagoda, Narasimha I, 1210-1280 A.D." The three chlorite images in its outside niches were all found *in situ*, but it has been found necessary to build small niches over them to preserve them. Dr. Bloch adds that the previously known epigraphical evidence for the date of this temple has now been confirmed by the chlorite carvings found in the *debora*, inasmuch as one slab appears to refer to the famous Śiva at Bhubanēśvar, and two others to the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, thereby establishing the fact that, despite its architectural superiority, the Black Pagoda is of later date than the other two. The slabs referring to Jagannāth, moreover, show the image of this god between a Śiva-linga and Durgā, and are thus of very special interest as indicating that originally "the cult of Jagannāth at Puri was not, as it is at present, associated with the religion of the Vaiṣṇavas, but with that of the Śaivas." "We gather from this interesting fact," Dr. Bloch says, "that one of the most popular religions in India has been subject to a very important change, even as late as the 14th or 15th century A.D."

The temples at Bhubanēśvar and the caves at Khandagiri have now been completely conserved, but as the work is discussed by Dr. Bloch in his Annual Report for 1908-09, no detailed account of it is called for here.

J. PH. VOGEL.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1908-09, p. 1.

## THE TEMPLE OF BHITARGAON.



### A.—BRICK ARCHITECTURE

IN his account of the Bhitargao temple Sir Alexander Cunningham<sup>1</sup> remarks that in the plains of Northern India, owing to the scarcity of stone, ornamental brickwork must once have been extensively used for sacred buildings, both Brahmanical and Buddhist. "At every old site," he says, "carved and moulded bricks are found in abundance, and I have now ascertained that many of the most famous buildings in Northern India at the time of the Muhammadan invasion must have been built entirely of brick, and were decorated with terra-cotta ornaments and alto-relievos. This was certainly the case with the great temple of the Sun at Multan, with the famous shrine of Jageswar at Thanosar, with the great Buddhist buildings at Sankasa, Kosambi and Sravasti, as I will all the Brahmanical temples of the Gupta period at Bilhar, Bhitargao, Garhwa and Bhatari. In the more easterly provinces of Bihar and Bengal the same causes of the want and costliness of stone gave birth to the great brick temples of Bodhi-Gaya and Nalanda. Even at Mathura and Benares, within a few miles of the sandstone quarries of Raptah and Chunar, moulded and carved bricks are found in great abundance."

The brick architecture of ancient India has hitherto received scant attention. The existence of such an architecture seems to have been unknown to Fergusson.<sup>2</sup> The subject, however, fully deserves special treatment by an expert, not only on account of its importance, but also in view of the small number and ruinous state of the brick monuments now extant. The Cawnpore and Patehpar districts contain a certain number of ancient brick temples the only specimens perhaps in the United Provinces which retain their original shape and ornamentation. In the absence of a detailed study on the subject it is impossible to fix their dates with certainty, but even a superficial inspection of these temples will make it clear that they belong to widely different periods.

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> In the new edition of Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Dr. J. Burgess, the Bhitargao temple is not even mentioned.



Earliest in date is undoubtedly the large temple of Bhutargau in the Cawnpore district, built of large-sized bricks ( $17\frac{1}{2}"$  by  $10\frac{1}{2}"$  by  $3"$ ) and decorated with well-modelled terra-cotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. Cunningham, judging from the style, is of opinion that this temple cannot be placed later than the 7th or 8th century, and is probably even older. I have reason to assume that the Bhutargau temple is at least three centuries older than the date mentioned by Cunningham. This assumption is based on the fact that the pilasters and cornices of carved bricks, which adorn the Bhutargau temple (Plate V), are very similar to those found on the oldest portion of the plinth, on which the Nirvana temple of Kasna is raised. This early plinth cannot be later than the Gupta epoch, and possibly goes back even to the Kusana period. We do not know for how long this peculiar style of carved brickwork remained in vogue, but we may safely assume that it flourished during the rule of the great Gupta emperors, *i.e.*, the 4th and 5th centuries.

All other brick temples which I have seen in the Cawnpore and Patchpur districts exhibit an entirely different style. They present in general the same appearance as the ordinary Hindu temple of the *sikhara* type. Usually they consist of a single temple tower with a small porch in front and contain a square cella covered over by a double dome. Floor plan is either polygonal in outline or square with recessed corners. Sometimes the polygon rests on a circular plinth. In some instances the porch is built of stone and the cella is covered over by a stone ceiling consisting of overlapping slabs and supported on four corner pilasters of the same material. This is the case with the temples of Badun and Tuduhi in the Patchpur district, but in the latter instance the original stone porch has disappeared.

The most striking feature of most of these temples is their ornamentation of carved bricks which covers the entire surface. The type of carved bricks used in these temples is so different from that of the Gupta period, that even from a detached brick or bricklet it is easy to tell to which of the two kinds it belongs. Both the plain and the carved or modelled bricks are considerably smaller in size than those of the temple of Bhutargau. The temple of Kurān contains bricks of  $13"$  by  $8"$  by  $2"$ ; those used in the Parauk temple are nearly the same size. (Fig. 7.)

The latter point would suffice to show that the temples under discussion are of a considerably later date than those which we have assigned to the Gupta period. Mr. Growse attributes the Babaā and Tuduhi temples to the 10th century of our era, and he is undoubtedly right in giving them a comparatively late date. It is, however, highly probable that the period during which decorative brickwork of this later type was in vogue extended over several centuries. It was extensively used in the Gangetic plains, not only in Brahmanical temples, but also in Buddhist sanctuaries. The temple of Buddha's Nativity on the site of the Lambinī Garden in the Nepalese Parai is decorated with carved brickwork of this type, and excavations at Sarnath in 1906-07 revealed the basement of a large Buddhist monastery ornamented in the same fashion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. R.* for 1904-06, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> On the basaltic monastery of *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, pp. 8 ff. plates XXIV and XXV. The average size of the bricks is stated to be  $8\frac{1}{2}"$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}"$  by  $2"$ , the maximum width being  $12"$ .

TEMPLE OF BH. JARGAON IN 1878





Besides the temples in the Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts to be noted beneath, I wish to mention here that near the village of Saton (four miles from Bahrampur) in the latter district, the ruins of a brick temple were discovered in the winter of 1906. Here, also, stone was used in part of the building. It is of particular interest that on a stone beam, which must have formed the lintel of the doorway, an inscription is found, which, on account of the character, may be assigned to the 8th or 9th century. (Fig. 1.) It thus confirms what has been remarked above with regard to the date of such temples. The inscription, together with all the carved stones, which had formed part of the Saton temple, were, at my suggestion, removed to Fatehpur by Mr. A. C. Walker, C.S., then Collector of the district. They have been added to the sculptures in the Town Hall, which were collected and described by Mr. Growse.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 1.

A list of the Saton remains I insert here :—

1. Door-lintel (width 2' 10½") with flying figure in centre and Sanskrit inscription in one line in character of the 8th or 9th century A.D. beneath. I read it :—

Om Svasti. *Jagāditya-putra Durgāditya-kṛtā* followed by wheel-symbol, meaning :—  
"The glorious work of Durgāditya, the son of Jayāditya."

2. Door lintel (width 8' 4") broken in two pieces (width 3' 11" and 2' 5", respectively) with row of garland-carrying flying figures, and projecting images of Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Dēva.

3-4. Two door-jambs (height 7' 5") belonging to the same doorway as No. 2. Below, two standing figures, presumably a river-goddess and an umbrella-bearer, and above a vertical row of amatory couples.

5. Fragment (height 2' 8") of door-jamb, with river-goddess Gaṅgā and row of three figures.

6. Lintel (width 3' 1") with figures of the planets, evidently belonging to No. 5.

7. Two stones (height 1' 5", width 1' 4") with couchant lions.

8. Image-stand (height 1' 5", width 3' 10")

It may be reasonably hoped that a proper survey and a closer study of the existing brick temples will enable us further to fix distinct types and define the period to which they belong. At present we can at least establish two main periods of brick architecture :—that of the Gupta empire exemplified by the Bhūtagaon temple, and that of the 8th to 12th centuries, which may conveniently be called medieval.

The present notes are only the outcome of a three-days' tour undertaken in December 1907 with the object of inspecting the temples and advising on the means to be adopted for their preservation. The buildings are, without exception, in a more or less advanced state of decay, and care must be to prevent further deterioration without detracting from their picturesque appearance. The temples in question were all built of brick laid in mud mortar. In all probability they were originally covered with a thin layer of plaster. It is obvious that, as soon as the core

<sup>1</sup> *Supplement to the Fatehpur Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1887, Appendix, pp. 41-43.



became exposed, a process of decay was bound to set in far more rapid than in the case of stone temples. The rain-water percolating between the joints washed the mud plaster away, and the building soon became a mere pile of loose bricks gradually crumbling to bits. To this is to be added the structural weakness of the Hindu arch and dome, used in these buildings, to which Cunningham first called attention. Not improbably this weakness was recognised by the Indian architects themselves and led them to employ stone doorways and ceilings in some of the later temples.

It would seem, however, that the very use of stone has led to the destruction of those shrines in which it was employed. For this material was found to appeal to the cupidity of the people in a district where stone is so difficult to obtain. So much is certain that in every instance, which has come under my notice, the porch has completely fallen away, whether originally built of brick or of stone. That of the Bhitargāon temple, still extant in Cunningham's days, has now completely collapsed. In the Bahua temple the original stone porch was restored by Mr. Growse from the ancient materials. In the case of the Thilaur and Tuhla temples a brick porch has been added and thus saved the remaining portion of the building.

#### B.—Temple of Bhitargāon. (Plates I—V.)

The village of Bhitargāon (or Bhitrigaon) is situated half-way between Cawnpore and Hamirpur, 20 miles to the south of the former place, and 10 miles to the north west of Kora Jahanābād. The temple can be visited either from Dharampur (Canal bungalow, 18 miles from Cawnpore) or from Sarh (Canal bungalow; railway station Sarsaul). It belongs to the Narwal *tahsil* of the Cawnpore district. The distance from Narwal is about 14 miles by *katcha* road, practicable by no other conveyance than a bullock-cart.

It is a matter of regret that the Bhitargāon temple is so difficult of access, though this circumstance, no doubt, accounts for its preservation. It ranks among the most important buildings of India, but is hardly known owing to its position. As pointed out above, it is the oldest brick temple existing and a unique specimen of the brick architecture of the early Gupta period. For a description, it will suffice to refer to Cunningham's account.<sup>1</sup> The two points especially noted by him are the occurrence of semi-circular vaults and pointed domes built in the Hindu fashion and the profuse decoration of carved brackwork and skilfully moulded terra-cotta panels.

Here I may briefly state that the temple is built on a square plan with doubly recessed corners, and contains a cella 15 square, and a porch or anteroom, nearly 7 square which are connected by a passage (Plates II and III). The two passages are roofed with semi-circular vaults, and the two rooms with pointed domes. Above the sanctum there is an upper chamber of less than half its size, which was perhaps originally covered by a vault of the same construction. Cunningham was informed that in the early fifties the spire was struck by lightning with the result that the top portion was thrown down, and the upper room became exposed to the sky. This accident has, no doubt, accelerated the process of decay.

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 40 ff.; plates XIV—XVII.

TEMPLE OF BRITOMARTIN



ARCHITECTURAL PLAN

SCALE  
FEET 10 5 0 10 20 FEET



The interornamentation of terra-cotta sculpture is certainly the most striking feature of the Bhītargāon temple (Plates IV and V). The walls rise in bold mouldings, their upper portions being decorated with a row of rectangular panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. It has been noted above that the early plinth of the Navāga temple at Kāśī is embellished in a very similar fashion, and that on that account there is good reason to ascribe the Bhītargāon temple to the early Gupta period. But at Kāśī the sunken panels or niches must have contained Boddhi figures seated in the pose of meditation, all of which, except one, have now disappeared.

At Bhītargāon, on the contrary, the Brahmanical pantheon has supplied a great variety of subjects. Unfortunately most of these terra-cotta bas-reliefs are so severely damaged that the subject can no longer be identified. Cunningham recorded in the centre of the back or west wall a representation of the Boar (Skv. *Varaha*) incarnation of Vishnu, on the north side a four-armed effigy of Durgā, and on the south side a four-armed figure of Gāyā. It deserves notice that the last mentioned figure is apparently shown standing (or dancing?) and not seated as is usually the case. From the occurrence of the Boar *avatāra* in the centre of the west wall, Cunningham concluded that the temple was dedicated to Vishnu. But I may point out that in many cases the outer decoration of a temple does not have any relation to the deity whose image it enshrines. An instance is afforded by the ancient temple of Viśveśvara at Baijaurā in the Kulu Valley. The object of worship is a *linga*, and there is no reason to assume that this is an innovation, as *linga* worship appears to have been a prominent cult in the Punjab Hills from very remote times. Yet we find the three outer niches of the Baijaurā temple occupied by image-shrines representing Gāyā on the south, Vishnu on the west, and Durgā Mahishamardini on the north. It is worthy of note that on the Bhītargāon temple the same three deities are shown in exactly the same positions.

In the two panels on the east wall on both sides of the porch I recognize representations of the river-goddesses Gāṅgā and Yamunā, which are usually found flanking the entrance of ancient temples all over Northern India. Instances are the temple of Baijaurā in Kulu, just noted, and that in the Nārpur Fort. In the eulogies of Baijaurā the occurrence of the two figures is especially mentioned. They are also found in the famous temple of Mārtand in Kashmir.

In the present instance the panel on the proper right of the porch shows a female figure standing on what appears to be the *malāra*, the vehicle of Gāṅgā (Plate IV and Fig. 3). She is attended by two smaller figures, one of which holds a parasol over the goddess, who seems to rest her left hand on the head of the other attendant standing in front of her. In her right hand she must have held a lotus-stalk, the flower of which is preserved in one of the upper corners of the panel. The corresponding panel on the proper left is almost entirely defaced, but the parasol in the upper corner nearest the entrance is still plainly visible.

<sup>1</sup> Major H. H. Cole—*Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869, plates 16-18, has misinterpreted these figures as "one of the Sun's wives, the Moon in conjunction with Intellect or Brightness."



The pilasters separating the panels just described support a double cornice of carved brickwork similar in design to that of the early plinth of the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā. Between the two cornices runs a frieze of smaller rectangular panels (16" by 9") alternating with balusters which are decorated with a chequered pattern. The panels enclosed between these balusters exhibit a marvellous variety of decorative designs. The most prominent feature of this frieze is the prevalence of scroll work, usually combined with phantastical birds and beasts. Among the latter we notice especially the *makara*, sometimes with a human figure apparently jumping out of its jaws—a familiar device of Indian art.<sup>1</sup> One of the two panels of the frieze reproduced by Cunningham appears to be a variation of this theme, but it is unfortunately too much injured to allow of detailed identification. The other panel shows a cock-fight.



Fig. 2.

A curious terra-cotta panel which, to judge from its size (17½" by 9"), must have belonged to the same frieze, is illustrated here (Fig. 2). It was discovered in the course of the recent survey of the temple by Mr. A. H. Loughurst, and is comparatively well preserved. It represents a four-armed Ganeśa holding in one of his left hands his favourite dish of sweetmeats and raising the forefinger (Skr. *torjani*) of one of his right hands as if to threaten a male figure which seems to attack or pursue him. The head and part of the right arm and leg of the latter figure are broken. Possibly the Ganeśa held in his two upper hands attributes which have also been lost. The upper left hand at least seems to clasp some object—perhaps an elephant tusk (Skr. *ankuśa*), the usual weapon of the elephant-headed god. His upper right hand is open and raised as if to ward off a blow, which the other person is about to inflict.

I do not know to what myth this curious scene refers. But the panel will show that the terra-cotta sculptures of the Bhūtargāon temple are well-moulded and full of action. They remind one of the terra-cotta fragments found in

<sup>1</sup> This motive I have proposed to explain from certain Mathurā sculptures, which, in their turn, show the influence of a Greek-Dionysian wheel of Gaudāra. Cf. *J. A. S. B.* for 1906-7, p. 100.

TEMPLE OF BHITARGAON



SECTION

Scale of Feet 0 5 10 15 20 25 Feet



such abundance around the main temple of the ancient city of Śrāvastī (the so-called Kāśī Kūt.) in the course of my excavation in the winter of 1907-8. The Bhītargaon terra-cottas show, however, superior workmanship and may, on that account, be assigned to a somewhat earlier period.

The double cornice of curved brickwork and intervening panelled frieze separate the body of the temple from the spire. The latter is decorated with numerous tiers of niches of various size, either round or square-headed, several of which contain boldly projecting busts or heads. In some cases the niches are occupied by one or more entire figures. As each successive course recedes several inches, the width of the temple gradually diminishes towards the top. Already in Cunningham's days most of the upper niches were empty. A panel illustrated by him is said to have occupied one of the upper niches.<sup>1</sup> It represents the well-known scene of Vishnu reclining on the world-serpent Śeṣha, while Brahmā is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which issues from Vishnu's navel. In front of the sleeping god we notice the Asuras Madhu and Kātabha who, each armed with a mace, are ready to attack Brahma. In the course of the recent repairs half a dozen complete panels with single busts or heads came to light beside numerous fragments, a list of which will be given at the end of the present paper. All these objects have been deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

The spire of the Bhītargāon temple with its rows of heads peeping, as it were, out of so many dormer windows bears a curious resemblance to some of the so-called Rathas at Mamallapuram ("Seven Pagodas") near Madras and also to the Chandi Bhūma on the Dieng plateau in Central Java.<sup>2</sup> The Dieng group is the oldest group of temples found in that island. Near the temple just mentioned was found an inscription dated in the year 731 of the Śaka era. Dr N. J. Krom, Director of Archaeology in Java, has called my attention to another Javanese temple which exhibits the same peculiarity. It is the Gunung Gangsir, a brick temple on the border of the residences Surabaja and Pasuruan. It is the oldest temple known to exist in Eastern Java.<sup>3</sup>

On my visit in December 1907 I found to my great regret that, since Cunningham surveyed the temple in February 1878, nearly the whole porch had collapsed, only a small portion of its north wall being left standing (Fig. 3). I was told by one of the villagers that this damage had occurred some twelve years before. It is sad to think that timely measures, involving but trifling expenditure, might have prevented the partial destruction of this valuable monument. The present instance shows clearly the necessity of periodical inspection.

Mr. A. C. Polwhele, Superintending Engineer, informs me that in 1884-5 it was proposed to repair the temple with plain brickwork of large bricks similar to those used in its construction and to rebuild certain fallen portions in the same manner so as to prevent further falling away. This was estimated to cost Rs. 1,945. Subsequently it was decided merely to rebuild such portions

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, plate XVII. It is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by J. Burgess and R. Phocas Spiers (London, 1910), Vol. I, pp. 327 ff. and II, p. 431; plate XLIX.

<sup>4</sup> *Rapport Oudheidkundige Commissie voor 1903*, p. 50.



of the plinth as had crumbled away and the face of the porch to prevent the overhanging superstructure from falling over. The cost was estimated at Rs. 550.



Fig. 3

It appears from the records, however, that the matter was shelved at the time for want of the trifling sum necessary to carry out the repairs and was eventually dropped, so that nothing was actually done.

In recent years repairs were carried out on the Blitarajon temple, if the information which I obtained on the spot is correct, in the spring of 1905 under the supervision of a native sub-overseer, who, evidently finding some savings on his estimate, took it on himself to utilise these according to his own taste.

In December 1907 I found the body of the temple covered up to the cornice with a thick layer of white plaster neatly finished off at the corners. It is needless to say that the coat of plaster, without adding in any degree to the strength of

The temple is now on the list of archaeological monuments in the United Provinces, prepared in accordance with the provisions of India Home Department Resolution No. 168-183, dated the 2nd November 1903.



FRONT ELEVATION

FEET 5 4 3 2 1 0 SCALE 5 10 15 20 FEET



the structure, produced by its glaring freshness a painful contrast with the subdued antiquity of the decayed brickwork.

It was on my recommendation that, in January 1900, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, while officiating for me as Superintendent of the Northern Circle, took in hand a survey of the Bhītargāon temple. Subsequently six record drawings and three working plans were prepared and several photographs taken under Mr. Longhurst's directions. Unfortunately the repairs could not be carried out under his personal supervision owing to some delay in providing the necessary funds. I wish here to quote Mr. Longhurst's account of this important work in full:—



Fig. 4.

"I found the temple," he wrote, "in a very dilapidated condition, the whole of the upper portion of the spire down to the ornamental brick cornice being far too decayed to justify any attempt at repairs beyond closing up the well-like opening in the summit of the room from the outside with new brickwork, making this portion of the building watertight. The plinth should be restored so as to mark

<sup>1</sup> The drawings reproduced in plates III—V are the work of M. Ghulam Muhammad, head-draftsman, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle.

<sup>2</sup> An estimate amounting to Rs. 3,029 was received from Mr. A. C. Poddhale with his letter No. 3547 M G/1181, dated the 13th May 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year 1900-1*, pp. 28 f.



the original site and to strengthen the base of the building. The circular brick arch over the doorway, where the porch has fallen, requires repairing on both sides of the entrance in order to support the overhanging mass of decayed brickwork above. These are the main points with regard to the repairs that I have proposed in my notes, and as I found that a written description without drawings would be quite useless to assist the Public Works Department in carrying out the work, I prepared a set of six working drawings showing the proposed repairs to this temple and explanatory notes showing the manner in which the work should be completed. These drawings I submitted to the District Engineer, Cawnpore, and we discussed the repairs on the spot. An estimate amounting to Rs. 3,023 has been framed and a special sum of Rs. 500 was allotted, while I was in camp at Bhitargāon, so that I might personally superintend the repairs, but as there was some delay in obtaining the money, I was only able to see the work commenced before I had to return to headquarters. However, there should be no difficulty about carrying out the work, as the drawings show exactly how much of this ruined building should be repaired and how much should be left as it is.

"In excavating the ground around the base line of the building we found a number of valuable and interesting terra-cotta bas-relief panels and broken fragments of beautifully carved bricks. These I had photographed, numbered, and despatched to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A detailed list of these acquisitions will be found beneath. This excavation work also proved that this temple stood on a raised platform built on cell foundations like the brick temples in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, an interesting fact that has not been previously noticed. Another point about this temple, which does not appear to have been mentioned before, is that stone beams or lintels were originally placed at the front of the existing brick arch, both inside and outside of the sanctum entrance; the large cavities just above the doorway on both sides prove the fact conclusively, and it is probable that the door-frame of the missing porch was also of carved stone, similar to the door-frames of the brick temples in the Central Provinces mentioned above. It will be seen from Plate XV in Volume XI of Cunningham's Reports, that this door-frame had been removed before he visited the temple, and I feel sure that the chief cause of the collapse of this porch is due to the door-frame having been removed, the mass of brickwork above, having no longer any support below, fell in, with the result that practically no trace of the porch now remains.

"One sometimes finds that modern-built temples are partly constructed of ancient building material or contain sculptures or inscriptions taken from some ancient ruined temple in the district, and with this object in view I had inquiries made, and found that there was a modern temple of some importance at the village of Behtā, about two miles from Bhitargāon (Fig. 5). On inspecting it, I found that, although uninteresting enough externally, the interior of the sanctum showed that a very ancient brick and stone temple once stood here, the old stone work being beautifully and neatly carved. A number of large and well-executed sculptures together with broken portions of carved stone door-frames, architraves and pillars were lying about the temple compound or had



DETAIL NORTH EAST ANGLE

SCALE  
INCHES 12 0 1 2 3 4 FEET



been used in repairing the temple or compound entrance. It is obvious that all these sculptures and portions of ancient building material could not have belonged to the original temple that once stood here, and that some of it must

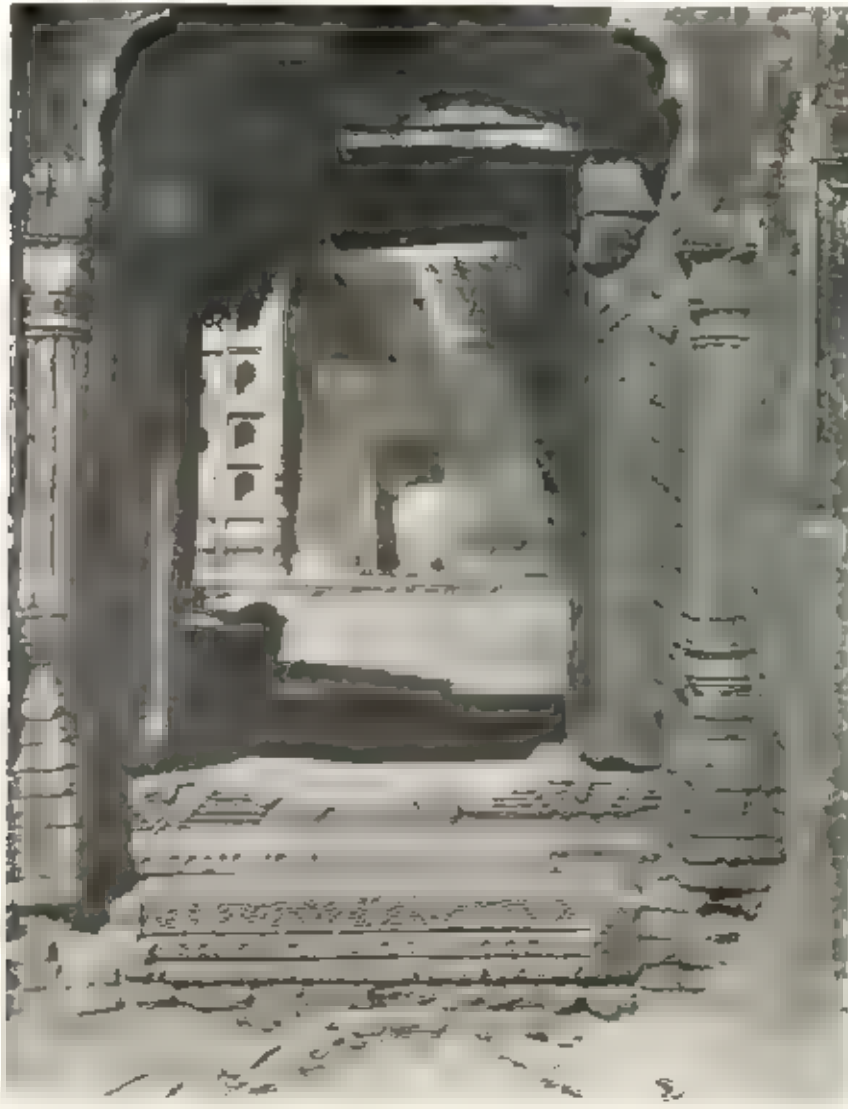


Fig. 5.

have been removed from some other ruined shrine in the neighbourhood and brought to Beldā at the time when the temple was so extensively repaired. The nearest, and, as far as I am aware, the only ruined temple near Beldā is that of Bhitargāon, which is only two miles away, and I feel sure that some of the ancient material represents portions of the missing stone door jambs and lintels of that edifice. The sculptures alone prove that the ancient remains collected here belong to two distinct temples, for I found lying on the ground in the compound the broken remains of a large, well-carved representation of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī seated on the bull Nandi, which must have been about four feet high when entire, and in one of the small niches built on either side of the temple doorway I found a particularly well-carved representation of Viṣṇu reclining upon the folds of the serpent Śeṣha illustrating the birth of Brahmā. It is a fine



piece of work, and in good preservation and carved out of a solid block of sand-stone (4' 2" by 2' 9" by 1' 3"). It is not used as an object of worship, but is lying on the ground neglected. There is a similar cell opposite containing two well-carved images—one representing Lakshmana (5' 3" by 2' 9" by 1' 0") and the other is a figure of Gaṇeśa (2' 6" by 2' 6" by 1' 0"). These three sculptures are all carved in similar stone and are of the same date, the stone being of a light buff colour and apparently the same as that used in the stone door-frame of the ancient brick temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur in the Rajah District of the Central Provinces where a similar representation of Vishnu may be seen forming the upper portion of the stone door-frame. In a great many respects the ancient brick temples in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces are similar to the one at Bhitargāon; but the latter appears to me to be at least a century older than the former and probably dates back to the 5th century. The terra-cottas that I have collected at Bhitargāon are the finest I have ever seen in India, the expression given to the faces and the life and action shown in the modelling of the limbs and figures are almost perfect."

*List of objects discovered on the site of the temple at Bhitargāon, Cawnpore District.*

1. Terra-cotta bas-relief rectangular panel (18½" x 9" x 2½") representing a headless male figure apparently attacking a four-armed Gaṇeśa (cf. above page 10 and Fig. 2).

2. Terra-cotta bas-relief circular panel (7½" diameter and 2" thick, representing a smiling female head looking out of a circular window.

3—7. Terra-cotta bas-reliefs, each 6" x 6", representing female heads looking out of arched windows.

8. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken portion of a rectangular panel (2½" x 9½" x 3" representing male figure, head and right arm missing.

9. Carved stone tablet (7" x 3½") representing Śiva and Parvati, with Gaṇeśa and Nandi below, found inside the sanctum, about 4 feet below the floor-level of the temple, amongst the foundations.

10—12. Terra-cotta fragments of female heads.

13. Terra-cotta fragment of an animal's head.

14—31. Carved bricks, incomplete.

32—38. Terra-cotta fragments.

39. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken rectangular panel (18" x 9½" x 3") representing two male figures wrestling. The head and right leg of the upper figure are missing and only one leg of the other figure is preserved.

40—50. Terra-cotta fragments.

51. " bas-relief circular panel (11" diameter). Much decayed.

52—68. Broken terra-cotta fragments.

69—81. " carved bricks.

### C.—Mediaeval Brick Temples. (Plates VI-VII.)

It will not be out of place to complete the present paper with some notes on the mediaeval brick temples in the Cawnpore and Fatehpur Districts which I visited in the course of my tour in December 1907. They are the temples of Parauli, Rār and Sunlana in the Cawnpore District and those of Tandāli, Bahmā, Kurārī and Thūṭaurā in the Fatehpur District.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All these temples as well as the Bhitargāon one and the site of the Satnā temple, have been declared protected monuments by Notification No. 1028 X, dated 8th September 1908.

### Temple at Parauli.

Two miles to the north of Bhutargaon lies the village of Parauli, which possesses a ruined brick temple of the Medhava type. It is briefly noted by Cunningham.\* As pointed out by him, its plan must originally have been a sixteen-sided polygon externally (Fig. 6). Presumably three out of the sixteen sides were cut off straight so as to form the entrance, which was turned towards the west. The steps leading up to the entrance are still extant, but the whole north-western half of the building

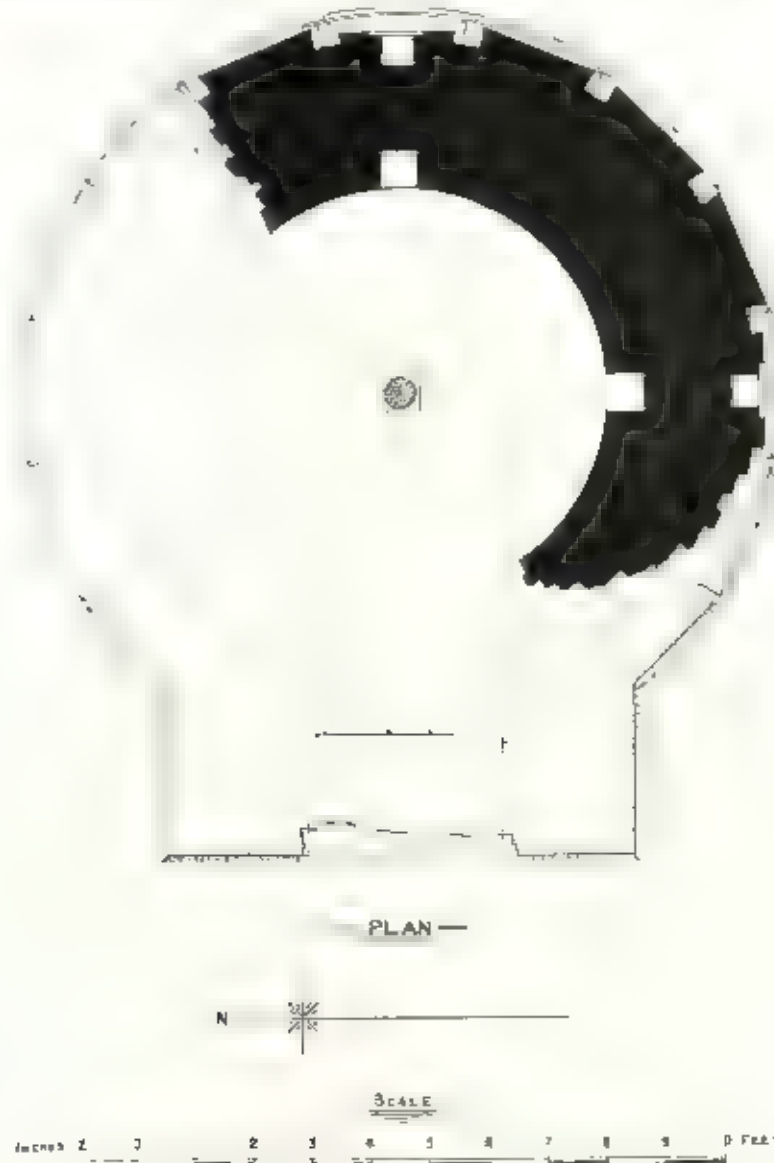


FIG. 6.

has fallen down. In the sides turned towards the south and east Cunningham noticed small niches,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ " high and  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " wide. "Outside," he says, "the whole surface of the walls is richly decorated with deeply cut arabesque ornament in perpendicular lines, the edges of each face being distinctly marked by sunken lines by the omission of a brick in every alternate course. The effect is decidedly good, as the different faces are all clearly defined." The preserved portion of the temple shows

*A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 46 f.

six faces decorated in this manner (Plate VI). A peculiarity of the Parauli temple, not found anywhere else, is the shape of the cella, which is circular instead of square. It contains a stone *linga*, from which the shrine is locally known as Mahadēv Babā.

The standing portion of the building is still in fair preservation.



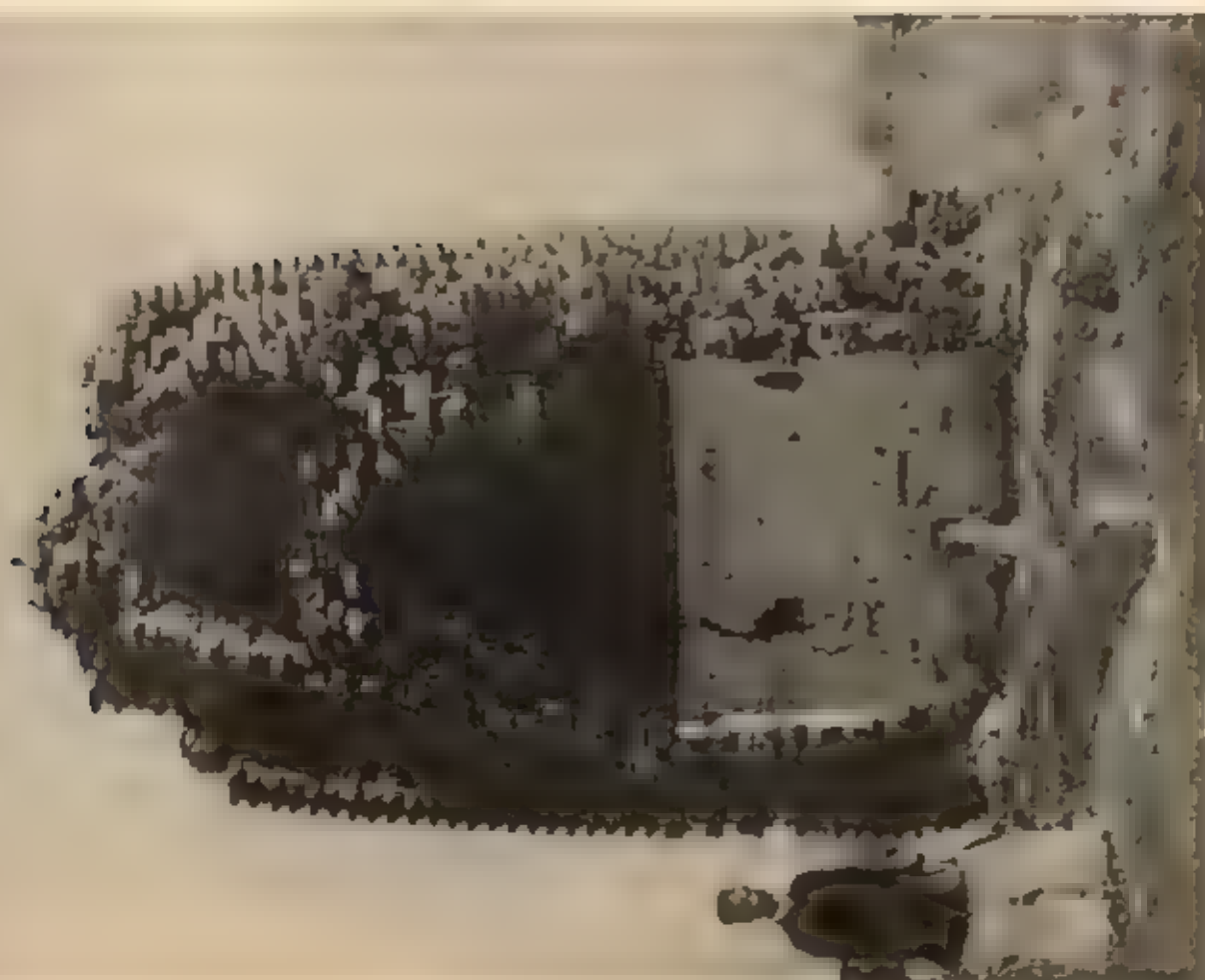
Fig. 7

### Temples at Rār and Simbhua.

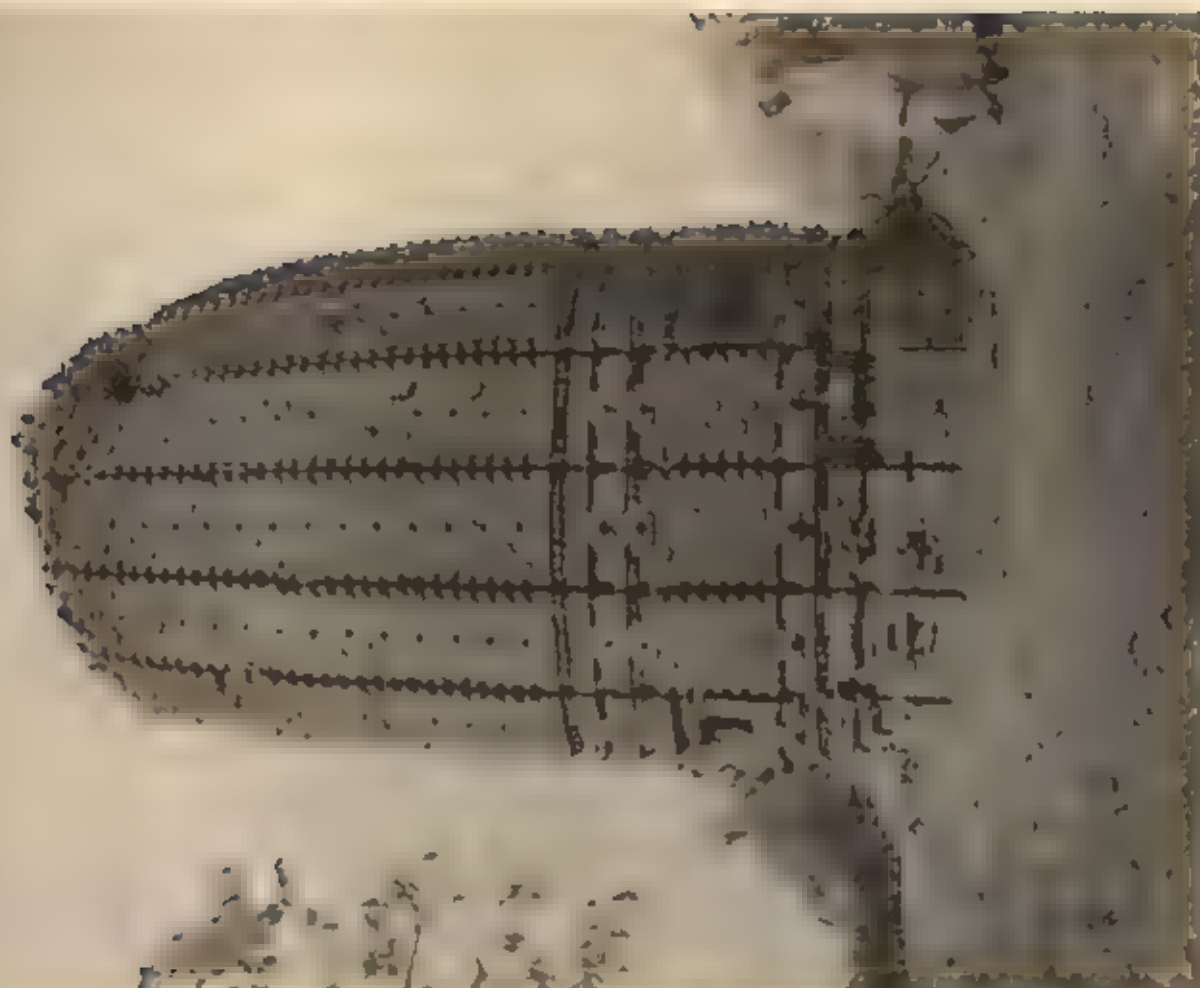
Cunningham mentions two temples at Rār about five *kos* to the south, and one at Simbhua, some three *kos* west of Bhutargāon. These buildings I have not been able to visit in the course of my tour. The two small temples at Rār have been described by Cunningham.<sup>1</sup> The larger of the two is said to be decorated in the same style as the one at Parauli, and presumably belongs to approximately the same date.

The temples of Rār and Simbhua were subsequently inspected by Mr. Longhurst, who did not consider that they possessed any particular archaeological interest.

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. R.* Vol. XI p. 47.



a) FRONT VIEW FROM NORTH WEST



b) BACK VIEW FROM NORTH EAST





### Temple at Tinduli.

The temple at Tinduli, Patchpur District, situated one and a half miles north of Baidki *taluk*, is one of the most perfect specimens of the late medieval style of brick-built temples. It has this peculiarity that the square cella (6' 9" by 6' 7") is covered over with a ceiling of overlapping stone slabs, which rest on four pilasters and architraves of the same material. All the stonework is decorated with carvings, the ceiling with partly defaced Rākshasa masks. The pilasters have square shafts, and their capitals and bases are of the pot-and-foilage type.

The shrine contains a stone image (4' 6" by 2' 4") of the four-armed Vishnu, from which the temple is known by the name of Chaturbhaj Bāba. The god who is shown standing on a lotus is surrounded by celestial beings. The head and arms of the main figure are broken, but the head is still extant and can be refixed. Many of the attending figurines are defaced.

The temple faces north. The plan is circular externally, the plinth and lower mouldings having been restored by Mr. Growse. The whole outer surface of the temple is richly decorated with carved brick-work. The porch, as Mr. Growse remarks, with its Mudamadan arch, is a later addition. It is said to have been built in the second half of the 18th century, and to its construction the fair preservation of the building is, no doubt, largely due. About 1850 the temple was repaired by Mr. Growse from a grant sanctioned by the Local Government. He summarizes the repairs done by him in the following words: "I have dressed up the terrace, giving it a masonry wall in front with a flight of nine steps up to the level of the temple floor, and have restored the plinth. These measures will, it is hoped, prevent any further fall of the superstructure."

The hope expressed in the last sentence has unfortunately not been fulfilled. The upper portion of the facade on the north side of the spire has collapsed and will have to be re-built of plain bricks. But first of all it will have to be ascertained whether the present porch possesses sufficient strength to carry the superstructure. If this is not the case, it will be necessary to re-build the porch also.

The south-east side and the upper portion of the spire also show traces of repair executed with small plain bricks; these probably date from the earlier restoration. The north wall of the platform on which the temple is raised was re-built by Mr. Growse together with the steps; but on the remaining three sides the walls have fallen away, and should be completed. Finally, I note that the stone architrave on the south side (back) of the cella is broken.

### Temple at Bahua.

Mr. Growse<sup>1</sup> notes the following regarding the temple at Bahua, 13 miles from Patchpur, on the road to Banda: "A small, ruinous temple, known by the name of Kakora Bāba, dates apparently from the tenth century. The *bikhara*, or tower, is of moulded brick; the cella which it covers has pillars, architraves and ceiling, all

<sup>1</sup> P. S. Growse, *Supplement of the Patchpur Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1887, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Growse, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.

of carved stone, as in the more perfect example of the same style at Tindāli. It must have been originally dedicated to Maladev, and was probably re-named about two hundred years ago, when it was very roughly and ignorantly repaired, many pieces of the doorway being built up into the ceiling and other parts of the fabric. These stones, with one exception, I succeeded in extracting, and on putting them together, so little of the design was found wanting that I was able to re-erect the doorway in its original position. This was done at Government expense. Out of the grant that I obtained for the repairs, I have also raised and levelled the ground about the temple, re-built the plinth, and supplied a flight of steps on the east front under the doorway."

To this I may add that the cella measures 6' 5" by 6' 5" and the porch 5 by 2' 6". The temple faces east. Its ground plan is square with recessed corners. In the facing only moulded, but no carved, bricks are used. The loss of the spire and the repairs executed in brick and mortar partly plastered over, and with stone fragments of some other temple, gave the building a singularly insignificant and patched appearance. The most interesting portion is certainly the porch of carved stonework, which was restored by Mr. Growse.

I do not know on what grounds Mr. Growse assumes that the Bahua temple was originally dedicated to Śiva. The headless stone Nandi now placed opposite the entrance may have come from elsewhere. The stone water spout in the north wall does not afford any proof. So much is certain that the shrine now contains an image of the sleeping Vishnu, placed upright in such a way as to appear a standing image. It is a curious instance showing how little the plastic representations of Hindu deities are understood by the very people who worship them.

The Bahua temple, thanks to previous repairs, is in a fair state of preservation, but in places the masonry has become disjointed.

### Temples at Kurari.

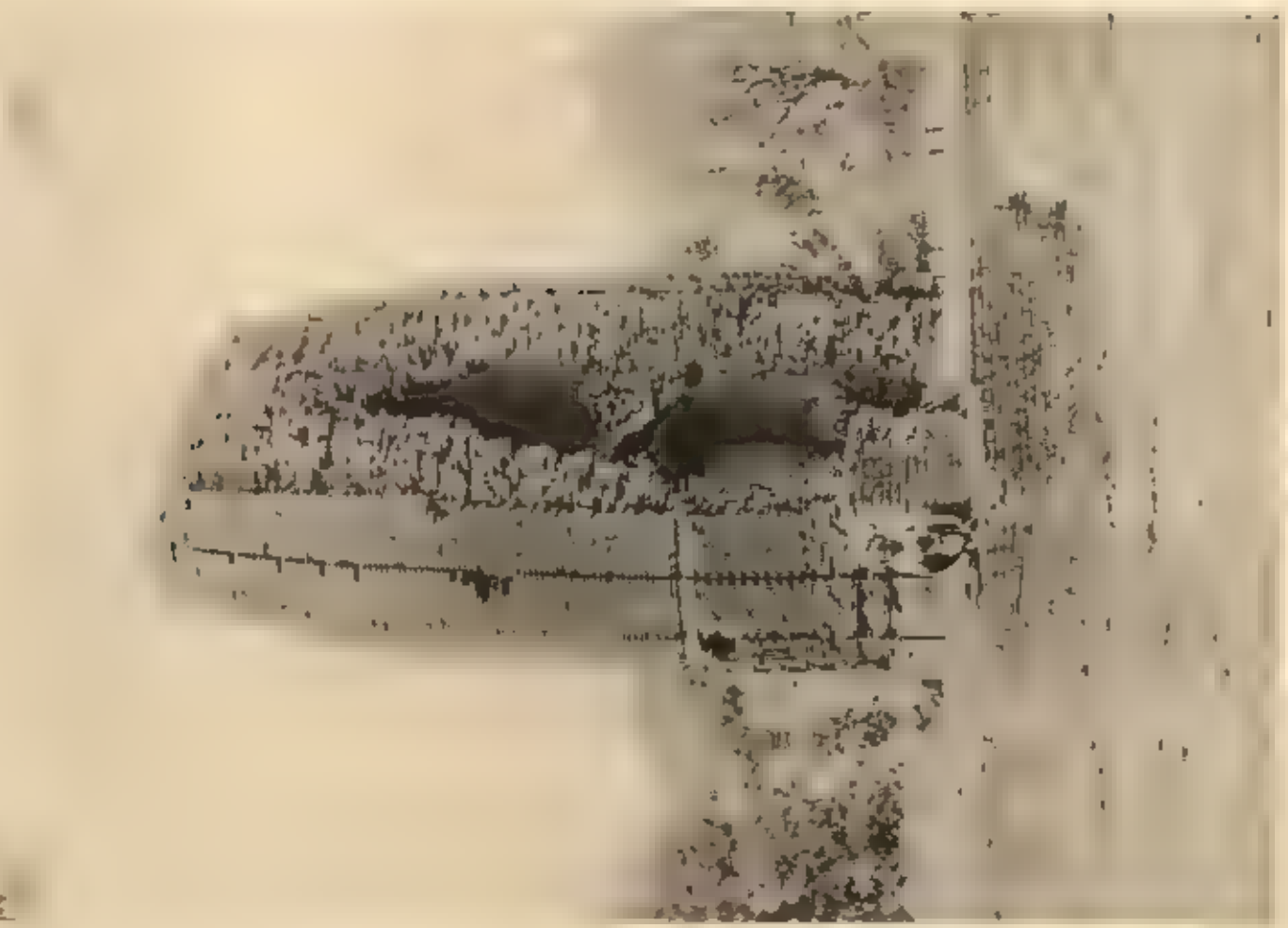
Outside the village of Kurari, some two miles north of Bahua, there is a group of four partly ruined temples picturesquely situated on the southern bank of an ancient tank surrounded by fruit trees. The temple (A), farthest away from the village, is still standing (Plate VII a). It is known by the name of Deora Bala. The building, which is raised on a plinth (27' by 28' 3") faces north-east and contains a single chamber, 5' 2" square, which is covered over by a double dome constructed in the corbelled fashion. The upper dome is built in the familiar shape of a Hindu spire or *śikhara*. The whole surface is richly decorated with carved brick-work. Externally the ground plan is similar to that of the Parauhi temple; it is a polygon of sixteen sides, of which three sides are cut off by a straight line so as to form the façade.

The different faces are plainly marked by recesses in the brick facing. The design of the decoration is the same on each face, except in the lowermost moulding, where carved and plain brick-work alternate. The back and side faces contain small niches, such as are found in the Parauhi temple. The façade has completely collapsed together with the face adjoining it to the proper left. Possibly it was partly built of stone or was provided with a stone porch. The cella, at least, contains several stone

TEMPLE AT KUPARI



VIEW OF TEMPLE AT KUPARI FROM WEST



VIEW OF TEMPLE AT KUPARI FROM EAST





fragments among which are portions of stone door-jambs. I noticed also a fragment of a Ganeśa figure and a hand holding a conch, which may have belonged to a Vishnu image.

Immediately to the west of temple (A) there is a flat mound, which perhaps marks the site of another completely ruined shrine.

Further west we find three more or less ruined temples. None of them is now used for worship. That to the south (B) and farthest from the tank faces south-east and contains a cella, 4' 2" square, surmounted by a *śikhara* (Plate VII b). Its type and ground plan are similar to those of (A), but the design of its brick decoration is different, and varies according to the faces on which it is found. Here also the facade has completely collapsed. The building is more dilapidated than (A), only eleven out of the sixteen sides are still standing.

The next temple (C) is almost completely ruined, little more than the basement is left standing. The cella measures 4' 4" square. Its plan appears to be similar to that of (A) and (B), but the ornamentation differs.

The fourth temple (D) is also largely ruined, but two sides of the walls are still standing. It seems to have faced north-east. The cella measures 5' 3" square. Of the preserved portion nearly the whole facing of the decorative brickwork has fallen away except that on the south-west, which is also in danger of giving way.

### Temples at Thithaura.

Thithaura is situated between Dugra and Saahibzade, at a distance of some six miles north of Bhatia. As I did not reach this village until after sunset, and had still to proceed to Jambha, my visit was a hurried one. This I regretted the more as the temple which I inspected at Thithaura is probably the best specimen of its kind. It faces east, is almost square in plan and is profusely decorated with carved bricks. The cella, which measures 5' 1" square, contains a broken image, apparently of Vishnu, with the usual attending figures.

Here also the porch appears to be a later addition. In the present instance, however, the doorway is not provided with an arch, but with wooden beams, which are in great danger of giving way under the mass of masonry they have to support. They should be replaced by stone lintels or iron rails. Presumably there was originally a porch built of stone.

On the north-east corner of the plinth stands a small ruined temple. I was told that there exists at Thithaura another ancient temple built of plain brick-work, but the falling darkness prevented me from inspecting it.

J. PH. VOGEL.

## CONSERVATION IN MADRAS.

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THE places at which conservation measures have been carried out number over forty, but as some of these are extensive sites, which include several monuments or groups of them, the total number of buildings is somewhat larger. The most important are those which have figured prominently in previous reports, and in which groups of structures are being steadily and successively taken up. Some new works have been taken in hand, but the repairs at these places are none of them of a very extensive order.

Even so, certain works which had been contemplated, and estimates for which had been duly countersigned, have had to be postponed owing to the misconduct of my late office manager, who suppressed the estimates in question. But the amount of money which lapsed in consequence has proved to be less than was at first feared, and the few works which have been delayed for this reason will be proceeded with at the first opportunity.

The most extensive measures of conservation carried out during the year were those at Vijayanagar, where work has been steadily progressing for some years past. Among the most noteworthy buildings which received attention were the large and important temples of Vittalāsān, Krishnāsān, Achyutarāyasvāmi and Putābhairavasvāmi. These had all previously undergone extensive repairs, but the necessary additions which were pointed out by me at a previous inspection have now in large measure been carried out.

Among the lesser temples and other buildings are the Gangott Jain temple, the Chamlakōśvara temple, the Śiva temple and Maṇḍapam near Vittalāsān temple, the Chamarāśekhara matham and the Samsvali temple near it, and the Vēṅkatarāmasvāmi temple near Kanakapuram.

The repairs on these buildings were generally of the same nature as has been previously described, and need not now be given in detail.

Some of the repairs, however, present difficulties which tax the skill of the engineers to the utmost, as will be realized without detailed description by a reference to Fig. 1, which represents the Hetuakutam Jain temple at Vijayanagar. Its ruined condition is almost solely due to defective foundations. These have been

built on soil placed above the rock on which the temple stands, and enclosed by revetments to prevent the spread of the earth from under the temple walls. By the removal or collapse of the retaining walls the foundations have sunk, with consequent fracture of the superstructure. Several of these Jain temples are in varying stages of similar decay, all due to the same cause, the above being an extreme example. Some have been successfully preserved and others are being attended to.



Fig. 1

The several groups of buildings contained in the ancient palace received attention, which was generally a continuation or completion of previous repairs. Most of these buildings have been described in previous papers, but one not mentioned hitherto calls for notice here. This is the building known as the "watershed," on account of its containing a reservoir which was originally supplied with water from the pipes of the ancient irrigation system, which still exists (Fig. 2).

The building evidently took the place of a public well, and was supplied with water by gravitation from the great tank near Kamalapuram.

Few visitors to Vijayanagar, who have noticed the stone aqueducts across the low-lying ground near the palace buildings, can have realized how perfect was the ancient system of water-supply by small earthen pipes embedded in blocks of hard mortar or concrete. Remains of these exist in many places, and generally they are formed of groups of several pipes all set close together and parallel to each other.



Fig. 2.

The building above illustrated is covered with an arched masonry dome, which, together with the arches of the doorways, was fractured in several places. The reservoir in the centre was also choked up with *debris*, which has now been removed.

Another building, which received its water-supply from the system above alluded to, is the Queen's Bath. It consists of a large square, uncovered reservoir surrounded on its four sides by arcaded and grouted corridors. The outer walls are comparatively plain, though originally they were surmounted by an ornamental cornice and a parapet, which, however, have now almost entirely disappeared, the supporting stone brackets alone remaining. It would, in my opinion be a permissible piece of restoration to replace this parapet. Its design can easily be gathered from the remnants preserved on parts of the inner walls, as can be seen by referring to Fig. 3. The brackets are the same in both cases, and so must have been the parapet also. At present the exterior wall-head is finished with a layer of plain mortar, which was added in the early eighties, during the time of the late Conservator of Ancient Monuments.

Though the exterior of the building is plain, the interior is lacking neither in ornament nor in architectural detail. Each side consists of three arches through

which the central reservoir could be viewed or entered, and which alternate with projecting balconies. The mullions of these balconies are embossed in arabesque stucco work, which has in parts crumbled away. During the restoration in the early eighties these gaps were covered with plain mortar. It would be an improvement to have this scraped off and replaced by actual stucco casts, taken from mullions



Fig. 3.

where the arabesques remain complete. The parapet which surmounts the inner walls is evidently a replica of that which has disappeared from the exterior. The structure of the building is of stone, with parapets in brick and ornament in stucco.

In a previous paper mention was made of the extensive hill-fortress at Gingee in the South Arcot District, and of the conservation work which had been initiated there. It will be remembered that the main grouping of the buildings is on and around two lofty detached hills, the Rājagiri and the Krishnagiri, the whole site being enclosed in long lines of fortified walls, which extend for several miles around it.

The general scope of the work is very much the same as that which has been successfully adopted at Vijayalagar. There is no single conservation work of any great magnitude required, but all of the buildings (and they are both numerous and of considerable size) require individual repairs of one kind or another.

One of the most important structures is the many-storeyed building known as the Kalyāṇa Mahall,<sup>1</sup> which is in a very perfect state of preservation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1906-7, pt. II (a).



The repairs on this edifice have now been completed. It stands in an extensive courtyard, which must at one time have contained other palace buildings. The ruins of some of these still exist in several mounds within the enclosure. Excavation reveals the foundations of buildings and burnt logs of wood, which show that some of these structures were destroyed by fire. Long lines of arcades and masonry-vaulted buildings in various stages of decay run along the inner walls of the palace enclosure, and the state of repair, which they now exhibit, is almost solely due to the gashes on of the ancient mortar used in the walls and vaults. In some parts several of the adjoining piers have vanished, yet the overhanging vaulted superstructure of masonry remains intact as if it were formed of solid stone (Fig. 4). A view of a part of these vaulted buildings gives an idea of their general state and an appreciation of the problems, which must be faced in any scheme of conservation, which is intended to retain their ancient character, and yet prevent as far as possible further ruin.



FIG. 4

The building crowning the Bagmati Hill is a picturesque structure known as the Flagstaff. It was originally surrounded by pillared arcades, which have now partly fallen away. Some measures necessary for the prevention of further decay have been carried out. Progress has also been made with repairs to other of the civil buildings and to the large temples there.

*Cf. A. S. H. for 1906-7, pl. III (a).*

Gandlakottai in the Cuddalore District is another important fort which has undergone repairs, the preliminary account of which appeared in a previous paper. The work has made considerable progress during the year under review and several buildings have been attended to. Among these is the masonry-vaulted building known as the Magazine, which was disfigured by mud walls built between the arches and by heaps of debris in the recesses. These have now been removed. Another interesting building is the lofty tower known as the Chattram (Fig. 5). It was



Fig. 5

generally in a fair state of repair, but some attention was needed for the decayed stucco work, particularly in the perforations of the upper windows. Some displaced stones of the basement, which seemed likely to endanger the security of the foundations, were fixed in position. The figure illustrating this building also shows one of the granaries, of which several remain. These are rectangular structures, with walls of great thickness, and with the interior spaced with lofty masonry piers supporting barrel-vaulted roofs.

Some necessary repairs have also been carried out to the group of eight large temples at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah District.

An interesting temple of very early date and of unusual design in many of its principal features is that at Kuranganathan in the Trichinopoly District. (Plate VIII.) Some extensive and urgently needed repairs have been executed there.

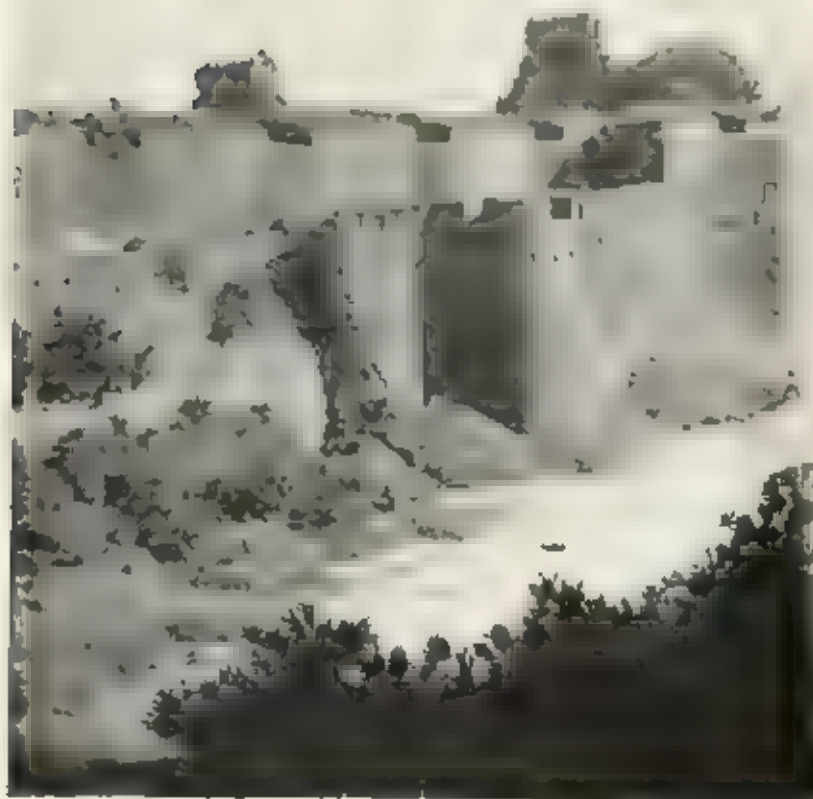


Fig. 6

It is stated that worship was never performed in the temple owing to its having been defiled by a snake (Tamil *karranga*) after its consecration. From this it has derived its name.

Among the remaining monuments, on which extensive works are in progress, are the Dansborg at Tranquebar, and the fort at Tanjore. At the former place under-pinning of dangerous walls and various other repairs have been done. At the Tanjore fort (Fig. 6) vegetation has been cleared from the ramparts, and the preservation of bastion No. 11 is in progress.

A. REA.







## CONSERVATION IN BURMA.

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THE total amount of expenditure incurred on archaeological works during the year 1908-09 was Rs. 18,282 as compared with Rs. 68,475 expended in 1907-08, and with Rs. 1,25,930 in 1906-07. The Imperial subsidy was likewise reduced



FIG. 1.

from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 8,307. As the archaeological allotment had been reduced to

such narrow limits, most rigid economy had to be practiced, and costly special repairs to monuments had either to be held in abeyance or carried out piecemeal. The major portion of the allotment was devoted to annual repairs of an obligatory nature. Among the buildings, for which special repairs were carried out, the Pondawpaya of Mungun, Sagaing District, and the Mingalazedi of Pagan have been selected for illustration in the present report.

Before undertaking to build a pagoda of huge dimensions, it is customary among Burmans to construct a model, the architectural features of which are simply enlarged on the bigger edifice. In accordance with this custom, Bodawpaya, who reigned from 1781 to 1819 A.D., built the Pondawpaya, a structure 17 feet 5 inches high (Fig. 1) to serve as the model of the Mungun Pagoda (Plat. IX), on which he spent much treasure and more than twenty years of his long reign. His great ambition was to "beat the record" in pagoda building among all Buddhist kings known to history; but foreign wars and domestic troubles prevented him from completing his project. In spite of the earthquake, which shattered it in 1838, its height is still 143 feet 10 inches, or about one-third of the height originally intended. Its probable dimensions, if completed, could be inferred from the Pondawpaya. This little structure consists of a solid dome resting on a square plinth of solid masonry, surmounted by a miniature *stūpa* and appears to be a hybrid between the Shwazigon and Ananda Pagodas of Pagan, which affords so many prototypes for Buddhist religious edifices throughout the country. It is adorned with all the appurtenances of a finished place of worship, namely, circuit walls, staircases, leogryphs, ornamented arches, etc. The remains of this interesting model Pagoda were conserved at a cost of Rs. 108, and care was taken to perpetuate its existing features. In order to prevent the intrusion of cattle and the erosion by the floods of the Irrawaddy, a fencing and an earthen rampart enclosing the entire site were constructed at a cost of Rs. 669.

The following comparison between the known dimensions of the two buildings may be of interest:—

	Mungun Pagoda.	Pondawpaya
Height of masonry plinth . . . . .	103' - 0"	2' - 11"
Length of its side . . . . .	240' -	19' -
Dome . . . . .	(?)	6' - 7"
Surmounting <i>stūpa</i> . . . . .	(?)	6' -

Sir Henry Yule gives the following graphic description of these two monuments:—

"This ruin [Mungun Pagoda] is doubtless one of the hugest masses of solid brickwork in the world. It stands on a basement of five successive terraces of little height, the lower terrace forming a square of about 450 feet. From the upper terrace starts up the vast cubical pile of the pagoda, a square of about 230 feet in plan, and rising to a height of more than 100 feet, with slightly sloping walls. Above this, it contracts in successive terraces, three of which had been completed, or nearly so, at the time the work was abandoned.

"In one of the neighbouring groves is a miniature of the structure, as it was intended to be. From this we see that the completed pile would have been little less

<sup>1</sup> *Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, pp. 169 f.

M. NCUN PAG. A





than 500 feet high. The whole height of the ruin as it stands is about 165 feet from the ground, and the solid content must be between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of cubic feet of brickwork.

"The fracture that has taken place is tremendous, and the effects of earthquake are seen on a scale that rarely occurs. The whole mass is shattered, torn, and split. Masses of wall 100 feet in height, and from 10 to 20 in thickness, appear as if they had been bodily lifted from their bases and heaved forward several feet. The angles have chiefly suffered, and these are fallen in a vast pile of ruin; blocks of coherent brickwork, as big as small houses, lying heaped in helters-skelton confusion on one another.

"The whole thing is a perfect geological phenomenon."



FIG. 2.

The Mingalazedi Pagoda (Fig. 2) was built by Tayokpyemin, King of Pagan, in 1274 A.D., and represents the zenith of Burmese religious architecture. The Burmese empire was subverted by the Mongols under Kublai Khan in 1284 A.D. It was shattered to pieces, and never recovered its former grandeur and magnificence. A stone inscription found within the walls of the Pagoda records the following ceremony:

"On Sunday, the 6th, waxing of Tabuung 630 Sakkaraj (1268 A.D.) King Narathilapala (Tayokpyemin), whose title is Siri-tribhavanâditya-pavara-dhamma-râja, who is the supreme commander of the vast army of 36 million soldiers, and who is the consumer of 300 dishes of curry daily, being desirous of attaining the bliss of Nirvâna, erected a pagoda. Having done so, the King enshrined within it 51 gold and silver statuettes of kings, queens, ministers, and marks of honour, and over these an image of Gautama Buddha in solid silver, one foot high, on Thursday, the full-moon of Kason 636 Sakkaraj (1274 A.D.) On that occasion a covered way

<sup>1</sup> Vide Y. Jé's *Marco Polo*, Chapter LIV, Volume II.



was erected extending from the palace to the pagoda. Bamboo mats were laid along this. Over these rush mats were spread, and over these again pieces of cloth each 20 cubits in length, were laid; and at each cubit's distance of the way banners were placed. During the ceremony the princes, princesses and nobles threw a large number of pearls among the statuettes, and the pagoda was formally named the Mingalazedi."

The Pagoda stands on a raised platform, and its triple terrace is adorned with terra-cotta plaques depicting scenes from *Jataka* stories. The small subsidiary shrines at the corners of the third terrace are entirely covered with green enamelled tiles. The bricks, with which the retaining walls are built, are stamped with Talung letters, and the dimensions of each are 18" by 9" by 3". Efforts were made to procure a complete set of the inscribed bricks, without dismantling any portion of the walls, but this proved to be impossible.

The thick jungle found growing within the precincts, and the *debris* were cleared, both the Pagoda and the surrounding walls made water-tight, and the steps facing the east repaired at a total cost of Rs. 9,800. The shrine is still an object of worship, and the iron *ht* now crowning it was placed in position by the villagers of Pagan in 1908. Under the Burmese regime, the crowning by commoners, of a pagoda built by a royal personage, would have been considered high treason, and the concession of this privilege is now greatly appreciated throughout the country.

TAW SEIN KO.

## EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

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THE year under review has been especially fruitful in discoveries, including some of unusual historical interest. Foremost in antiquity ranks the Garuda pillar of Bēsnagar in Gwalior State, which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1877, but the real significance of which has only been revealed since Mr. Marshall's visit to the spot in January 1909. The third section of the present volume contains a special contribution on this discovery, with the text and version of the inscription now agreed upon by the best authorities on Indian epigraphy.

Later in date, but by no means secondary in antiquarian interest, is the now famous Buddhist relic-casket excavated from the ruins of the great *stupa* of Kanishka near Peshawar. The discovery of this monument—the clue of which was given by M. Alfred Foucher in his brilliant study of the ancient geography of Gandhāra—has shown how much can be achieved by patient and systematic research. The excavations carried out by Dr. Spooner on that site in 1907-8 had not yielded any certain results. They were resumed in the year under review and led to the discovery not only of Kanishka's monument, the largest *stupa* of Northern India, but also of the relics which it contained. The relics, according to the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang, were believed to be corporeal remains of Gautama Buddha, and have therefore been made over to the Buddhist community of Bamiana to be worshiped in a new pagoda at Maralāy. I may refer the reader to the detailed account of the excavation of Śān-jit-ka Dhēri, the modern name of the site, which Dr. Spooner has contributed to this Report.

Here I wish briefly to note the special interest of both the inscribed objects just mentioned for the history of Greek, or rather Hellenistic, influence in the Indian Continent. The Bēsnagar pillar was set up by one Heliodōros, who calls himself “a Greek ambassador from King Antalkidas to King Bhāgabhadra.” It clearly shows in what manner, about the middle of the second century B.C., Greek influence could penetrate from the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom in the North-West to the Hindu States of Central India. It is the earliest known architectural monument of the contact of these two great civilisations of Asia and Europe.

The relic-casket of Kanishka, on the other hand, exhibits the Hellenistic influence on Indian art in the final stage of its remarkable action. It seems that the

Kharosthi inscription mentions a Greek artist, at least one bearing a Greek name. The decoration of the casket shows a curious blending of classical and Indian elements, familiar to us from Gandhara sculpture. It points to a time when the graceful plant of Greek art transplanted on Indian soil had become choked by the luxuriant growth of indigenous culture. It appears from the inscription that this period of artistic decline was the reign of the great Kanishka, whose edicts figures prominently on the casket.<sup>1</sup> The thorny problem of his exact date may here be left out of discussion. It is much to be certain that, whatever patronage Kanishka and his successors may have extended to Buddhist building, the great flourishing period of Gandhara art had then passed away.

A study of the closely allied art of ancient Mathurā has led me to the same conclusion. I had hoped to continue here my paper on the Mathurā school of sculpture published in the *Annals* for 1906-7.<sup>2</sup> But the fresh discoveries of sculptures and inscriptions made by Pandit Rādhā Kṛṣṇa were so numerous that I have been obliged to postpone this work for another year. In the present volume, however, I have inserted a note on some Nāga images which have come to light in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. The circumstance that several of these are inscribed has enabled us to trace their historical development, which is found to end by the ancient Nāga figures being worshipped as Balarava, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa.

In my previous paper dealing with the Mathurā school of sculpture I had pointed out that this school had exercised considerable influence on the development of Buddhist art in the Gangetic Plains. This is confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary Bodhisattva statue found in the course of Mr. Marshall's excavations on the ancient site of Sāheth-Mahēth in the Bahawal and Gonda districts of the United Provinces. In a well-preserved inscription incised on the base it is stated that this image was carved by a sculptor from Mathurā.

This inscription, which is being edited in the present volume by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, confirms moreover the identity of the ancient sites of Mahēth and Sāheth with the famous city of Śrāvastī and the adjoining Buddhist establishment of the Jeta-vana, both these places being mentioned in the inscription. It will be remembered that this is the fourth epigraphical record found on the spot which confirms General Cunningham's brilliant determination. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that the long-suspected problem of the situation of Śrāvastī has thus been finally solved.

Mr. Marshall's operations embraced the whole of Sāheth and the group of ruins consisting of Gā Jhar, Kharadha Jhar and Panaryā Jhar and some other monuments. In the Kharadha Jhar, which is a *stupa* built entirely of brick, was found a very primitive relic receptacle assigned by him to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. He was unable to penetrate to the centre of the Gā Jhar, his work being stopped by a brick *stupa* of about the 9th century A.D., which came to light a few feet below

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare the gold reliquary-casket from a *stupa* at Himara near Jāhābad, now preserved in the British Museum. It is made of silver in imitation of the Indian style, but is of a date not later than about 50 B.C. and was found on the same spot. Cf. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, p. 10, and *Archæologia Indica*, vol. I, p. 144, pt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.* for 1906-7, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A full account of Mr. Marshall's excavations at Sāheth-Mahēth and at Maudher will appear in the next *Annals*.

the top of the mound. The mound itself is composed of clay and Mr. Marshall considers it to be a prehistoric monument like those at Ranjore and Lauriya. The Panal vajher, which Dr. Hooy believed to be a creekpit, is also a brick *stupa* with its core made of pounded clay. No relics were found in it.

At Saloh itself, Mr. Marshall discovered a number of *stupas* near the monastery in which the copper-plate of Govindachandra had been found in the previous winter. The earliest of these *stupas* go back to the Kushana period. The middle portion of the site was in ancient days occupied by an extensive lake. In the northern portion of the site, Mr. Marshall completely excavated the monastery around temple No. 1 and brought to light a number of other buildings to its west. To the east of No. 2 there came to light a broad approach with a variety of structures on and along it. The date of the approach and of these structures was determined by a number of copper-plates found in an earthen pitcher in one of these buildings. All these coins were of the Kushana king Vasudeva, with the exception of one, which is of Kanishka, two of which may be assigned to Huvishka, and one of a king of Ayodhya, presumably Ayumitra.

Mr. Marshall also did some digging at the old fort of Mandör, but the results achieved were less satisfactory than was expected, though still of considerable interest. The outer walls of the fort is of a very late date, but in the southeast corner Mr. Marshall uncovered a Brahmanical temple which was originally founded about the 8th century A.D. It was re-built and added to first about the 10th and again about the 12th century A.D. It is now clear that the two sculptured door-jambhs which were discovered by Mr. Burgess in the *Annals* for 1905-6 did not originally belong to this temple. Among portable antiquities there was a much mutilated 12th century inscription of Sahaja-pala, the chief of the Nagdha branch of Chander Chahaman Rajputs. This inscription is of interest, as it supplies a few new names of the clan.

The excavations carried out in 1897 by Mr. Cousens on the site of Mansura in Sind show that the Muhammadan city of that name was built on the ruins of the Hindu city of Brahmanabad. This conclusion has been confirmed by the excavations of the year under review. They were confined to two spots. The first was the site of a very large mosque, probably the Jam Masjid of the Modern city of Mansura. All that remained of this building was a row of heavy brick foundations, each of which must have carried a pair of square pillars, or more probably wooden posts. Beneath these remains were found drains and "libation sabs" which Mr. Cousens believes may have belonged to a Brahmanical or Buddhist temple on the ruins of which the mosque was raised. Parallel cases in many a city of Northern India render it highly probable that the main mosque of Mansura stood on the ruins of the chief temple of Brahmanabad. But the somewhat scanty remains of the supposed Hindu shrine unearthed by Mr. Cousens seem hardly to justify us in considering his otherwise plausible theory as being finally proved.

The other spot selected for excavation was the *Thal* (skr. *sthala*?) or Tower, a pile of brickwork rising some 36 above the surrounding ground level. The exact nature of this structure is somewhat doubtful, but the discovery of carved bricks led



Mr. Cousens to assume that originally it had been a Buddhist *stupa* which had been rebuilt in later times. A clearing of the basement would probably settle this point.

In the course of his paper on this excavation Mr. Cousens disposes of a theory started by a previous explorer, according to whom certain objects found on the site would represent chessmen. Mr. Cousens puts it beyond doubt that the supposed chessmen were in reality little balusters or spindles of some furniture rails. It will be hardly necessary to remark that this argument does not, of course, in any way affect the antiquity and Indian origin of the game of chess which are sufficiently proved by its Sanskrit name *chaturanga* originally meaning " [the four-membered army] " which was introduced with the game into Persia where it became changed into *shatranj*.

The disappointing nature of the results at Margum-Balmanabād were due in some measure to the fact that the remains of the older cities were forced to have been largely intruded in building the later ones. The ancient Hindu city was evidently not destroyed by a sudden cataclysm but was gradually deserted, with the result that no valuables came to light in the course of excavation.

One of the best known Buddhist monuments in the Dakṣiṇ is the *stupa* of Amurāvidī (on the right bank of the Krishna river) of which numerous sculptures are preserved in the British Museum. In the seasons 1888 and 1889 this site was re-examined by Mr. Rea and again in 1905-06. In the course of these excavations numerous sculptural fragments and minor antiquities were found. In the year under review Mr. Rea has made some further explorations in the north and north-west of the mound at some distance from the centre of the main *stupa*. They yielded again a number of sculptures, unfortunately mostly in a very fragmentary state. A find of some interest was a golden reliquasket which apparently had been contained in one of the minor *stupas* surrounding the main monument. That it had escaped the notice of previous diggers was evidently due to the circumstance of its being placed in an earthenware jar which was completely hidden with a dump of mortar. Another interesting discovery was a collection of bronze Buddha statues which had been previously dug up by treasure-seekers, but left on the spot out of superstitious fear.

Perhaps the most important question connected with Mr. Rea's researches is the date of a group of necrotic graves which were found partly hidden by one of the minor *stupas* and which, consequently, must be earlier in date than this building. Unfortunately the date of this *stupa* cannot be fixed with certainty, as it may have been either anterior or posterior to the main monument. If we assume that it is approximately contemporaneous with this building (which was constructed about A.D. 170), it would follow that the necrotic graves cannot belong to a period some centuries subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, as is generally supposed, but must be considerably earlier.

Mr. Rea also examined a prehistoric site at Perumbar in the south of the Cunnigput district, which yielded an important collection of casts, pottery, and stone and iron implements.

The present section also includes a report on the sepulchral mounds of Awāl, the main island of the Bahraṇ group in the Persian Gulf, by the Political Agent, Major F. B. Prideaux. The writer of the report excavated several of these mounds in



1906-7 and 1907-8 at the instance of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, the Government of India having placed the necessary funds at his disposal for the purpose. Major Prudent's report includes an interesting account of the history and geography of the group of islands, which once belonged to the famous state of the Karmathians. The existence of a sea-borne trade between Bahrain and India is attested by the Arabic poet Ghar, who compared the morning winds to "a ship from India which enters the port of Awal." The excavation of the mounds, though evidently conducted with considerable care, was disappointing in that it has yielded no clue as to the origin of these sepulchres which have puzzled several explorers. The finds consist mostly of pottery, which has very little distinctive character about it. The pottery differs in no particular from modern roughware—the red-baked clay and buff ware like the *kazza* that come down from the Persian Gulf at the present day.

The objects discovered by Major Prudent in the course of his excavations will be deposited in the Prince of Wales' Museum at Bombay.

J. PR. VOGEL.



Fig. 1. Pagoda M and before excavation.

## EXCAVATIONS AT SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI.



AMONG the many monuments of ancient India mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims of the early centuries of our era, one of the most important was the great *stûpa* of King Kanishka the Kushana, which he is said to have erected near his capital city of Purushapura. The pilgrims describe it in great detail, and are agreed in calling it the loftiest and most magnificent of the pagodas of India. But curiously enough all traces of this building was lost, and no plausible theory as to its location even was advanced until M. Foucher published his "*Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhâra*." In this he drew attention to two large mounds outside the Ganj Ghat of Peshawar City which seemed to him to answer very closely to the accounts given by the pilgrims, and he tentatively identified them with the Kanishka *chaitya* of history for the following reasons:

1. *P. & P. O.* 1700. T. 322 ff. on the Kanishka-chaitya, vide pp. 325 ff.

Assuming that the ancient city of Purushapura stood essentially on the same spot as the modern Peshawar, the general situation of the mounds is in sufficiently close agreement with the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims. We are moreover told that attached to the main pagoda on the west, Kanishka built a vast monastery. The relative position of the two mounds at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri agrees exactly with this description. The mound to the east furthermore has all the appearance of being the remains of a *stupa*, while the general outlines of the massive mound to the west suggest a *stupa* on a quadrangle on an exceptionally large scale. And the extent of the mounds is of course another link in the chain of evidence. The famous *pipal* tree which is said to have marked the site from the days of Kanishka himself to those of the Emperor Babar, is not to be found, but M. Foucher rightly points out the futility of seeking for it now. But to the north of Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, in the place where one would naturally look for this tree, is a small octagonal temple still the scene of Hindu worship. The significance of this fact, as well as that of the presence of the *current* of Rishy-mukhi to the south, M. Foucher has not failed to note. And when it is noted that the excavations carried out by Sappers and Miners in 1875 proved conclusively the Buddhist nature of the buried monuments<sup>2</sup> as well as the fact that they had been destroyed by fire, a point reiterated by the Chinese pilgrims, — it is plain that M. Foucher's reasons for his tentative identification were very strong, so strong, indeed, that I was led to feel it both a duty and a privilege to give the site that examination which he himself unfortunately was unable to undertake.

The fact that the main pagoda had been repeatedly destroyed by lightning, and as often again, led M. Foucher to suggest that in any further exploration of the site search should be made in the first instance for the buried little *stupas* mentioned by Hsuen-Tsang as standing to right and left of the pagoda, as it seemed possible that they might have escaped the destruction that overwhelmed the main monument, and the discovery of even their foundations in the position indicated would be strong confirmation of the identification proposed. And this suggestion was followed in the operations under discussion. But although Hsuen-Tsang says that these little *stupas* stood to right and left of the main pagoda — that is to north and south as it is known that the face of the building was to the east, he nowhere gives any hint as to how far distant they were from it, nor was there anything in the nature of the site used to determine any point either to north or south where one could start digging towards the

<sup>1</sup> The pilgrims differ in their statements from the "4 *li* to the east" of Tuo-Yung to the "8 or 9 *li* to the south-east" of Hsuen-Tsang (cf. Benl, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 99 and *passim*). But the differences are immaterial, if not entirely irrelevant, as M. Foucher says in the fact that they start from points far apart.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that General Crompton also appears to have identified Shah-ji-Dheri as the site of Kanishka's monument. This is evident from a *Report on the Explorations at Mound Shah-ji-Dheri near Peshawar by a detachment of the Sappers and Miners under the command of the late Lieutenant C. A. Crompton, R. E.* (London, 1875) and *Report on the Explorations at Mound Shah-ji-Dheri, Supplement* (1875). At the end of his Report, Lieutenant Crompton remarks: "Taking into account the poor and scanty nature of discoveries, I am of opinion that it is not worth while continuing the explorations here." In view of Dr. Spooner's discoveries, the conclusions of the previous excavator are somewhat amusing. But it is gratifying that here again the great power of Indian archaeology has shown its remarkable ability to guess what it cannot see. I must say that, although he had previously identified Kanishka's monument with the site Kanishka-Peshawar City. Unfortunately he published only his first conjecture (*A. S. B.*, Vol. II, p. 89) and not the second one which has proved to be correct. [E.]

ground with the certainty of crossing these buildings. The arrangement of these little *stūpas* was another difficulty, did they extend generally north and south from the pagoda, or were they grouped on either side in lines extending east and west? Presumably the latter, for we notice in the case of other monastic sites in this Province that such buildings are usually erected as near the sacred centre of the whole as possible, and any alignment north and south would seem to violate this principle.

At the same time, one can seldom speak with certainty of the position of buried monuments, and it was necessary to keep all possibilities in view. Another difficulty was our ignorance as to their relative distances. Were they built all in one huddled mass, as at Jambagarhi, or were they separated one from another like the majority of those in the lower court at Takht-i-Bahi? To this question there was no conclusive answer, and in order to meet all possibilities, in so far as we could, it was decided to begin the work as follows:

Taking a fairly central point at the base of the main pagoda mound, on its southern face—for the country to the south presented fewer difficulties for excavation than that to the north—and there is nothing in Hsuen-Tsang's account to make the one direction seem more promising than the other,—five trenches were started, each six feet in width and, at first, 100 feet in length. Of these five the central one was led due south, and the others to the south-east and the south-west, respectively, at increasing angles, so as to pass through any alignment running east and west in such a way as to know, or irregular distances between the monuments, and also, by extending them far enough, to cross a possible alignment north and south.

Work was begun on the 10th January 1908, after arrangements had been made with the owners with the assistance of Major Rawlinson, the Deputy Commissioner, but for the first few days we could not get the desired number of coolies and the work progressed slowly. Meanwhile repeated examination of the low mound running north and south along the road which skirts the eastern edge of the site had been rewarded by the finding of one or two fragments of Gandhara sculpture. For this reason, as soon as our full complement of 120 coolies was secured, I put one of my six sections of 20 men each at the work of cutting into this mound from the north, but after several days' fruitless digging the undertaking was temporarily abandoned and the men put to other work as to be shown hereafter.

As the five original trenches were continued and I saw what a depth of surface soil had to be cut through (for the practice of strewing the fields with the earth of the mound for purposes of fertilization has given an unusual depth to the fields in question) I decided to have two sections seek to discover, if possible, the levels underground, with a view to continuing the trenches one by one if need be, and thereby possibly economize. For it was of course conceivable that the very first trench would give us the clue desired. The men in the central one of the trenches running south-west were accordingly told to sink a pit at a point some 70 feet from the starting point, and another section was placed directly in front of the mound to the east in the hope that they might discover the pavement which it was natural to assume led to the entrance of the monument. But, to my disappointment, this pit was sunk some fifteen feet with entirely negative results. For the first foot or so the soft free earth of the wheat field was passed; then came a stratum some two feet thick of tightly

—PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS—

—SHAHJI KI-DHERI—

60-1021

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



SECRET

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packed *debris* among which one copper coin (too badly corroded to be recognized) and a few small and very badly damaged sculptured fragments were found. But below this the pit passed ~~into~~ into perfectly free earth to the depth mentioned above, when the work was stopped and the men placed afresh.

For in the meantime the former section had been more successful. Going down at the point indicated, a portion of a massive wall had been found at a depth of eight feet. Of great strength and solidity and nearly eight feet in width it was obviously a most important element as well as its position (downcast and west at a fair distance from what seemed a probable situation for the pagoda) seemed to justify the hope that we had recovered the main retaining wall of the rectangular platform from which the *stupa*-platform arose. And the hope was strengthened by the apparent fact that a platform extended from the inner edge of this wall toward the north at the point nearly uncovered. Reasoning in this way, therefore, I put my entire company at digging a master trench east and west in alignment with the portion of the wall already found. But the earth was everywhere so packed with brick-bats and *debris* of all kinds that the work was both slow and costly, and it was only by degrees that the deceitfulness of my hopes became apparent.

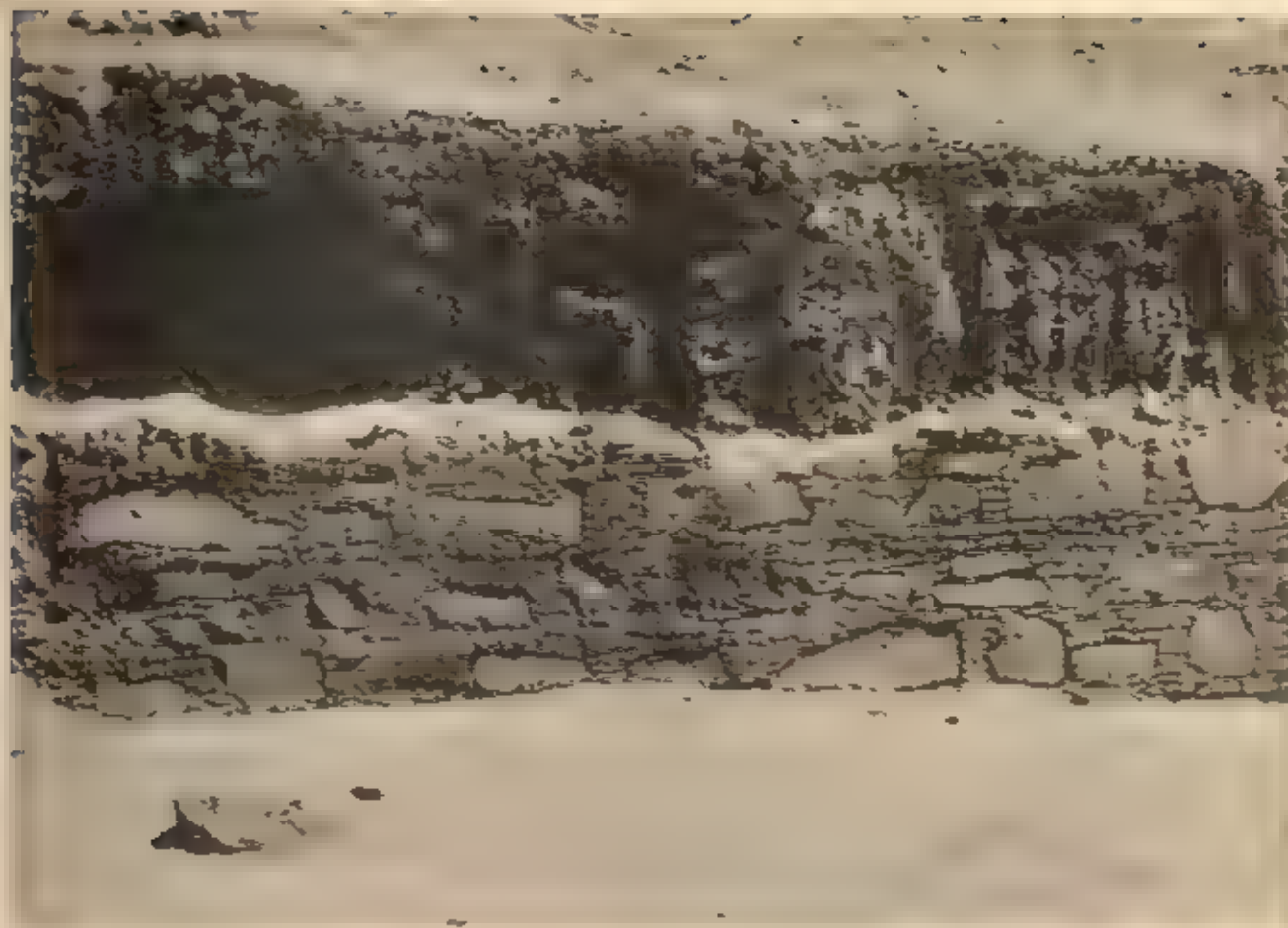
On deepening the trench in front of the first stretch of wall discovered, it became clear that the latter rested on a brick pavement, and rose to a maximum height of some four feet. The eastern end appeared to be broken away, and was found to be followed by a circular paved platform some 6 feet in diameter on a level with the pavement *above* mentioned. At first, therefore, I did not despair of finding the wall continued beyond this, and assumed that it might have been broken here and there by towers now in a wholly ruined state. But this proved not to be the case. For instead of being a mere break in a continuous wall, as had been thought, the eastern end of the stretch first found proved to be the broken south-east corner of a square structure with a corresponding broken corner at the south-west and other walls running north to meet the one on the north parallel to that last discovered. The width of eight feet, furthermore, was found to extend for only half the length of this wall, which was only some four feet wide throughout the remainder of its course. The first supposed platform, again, was found to be merely the floor of one of the two rooms or apartments into which the building was divided, the room to the west within the inner portion of the wall being paved with cobblestones, and that on the east covered with a stucco pavement painted red and extending right up to the eastern edge of the whole in such a way as to lead to the conclusion that this was a sort of porch or portico giving access to the former room, which from the large number of charred sculptural fragments, appears certainly to have been a Buddhist shrine.

As regards construction, the building was very interesting, as it showed the usual features of Gandhāra masonry carried out in novel materials. Elsewhere in this Province walls of the early period are built up of large irregular blocks of slate whose interstices are filled with neat piles of smaller fragments of the same material. At Shah-ji-ki-Dheri the same principles of construction are met with, but the large blocks are of roughly dressed stone and the piles of slate are replaced by piles of

small bricks, fitted to the irregularities of the main stones with great skill and cleverness. The explanation of this peculiar form seems to be that in Peshāwar the slate schist commonly found elsewhere was not readily procurable. At monasteries like Takht-i-Bahn, etc., the material lay ready to hand, and doubtless explains the origin of the style as a whole. In Peshāwar the style was naturally followed, but those materials were used which were most easily obtainable. That the divergence from the normal type does not necessarily imply decadence or even a very late date is interestingly shown by the fact that the very building under discussion shows a platform on the north side which is built in the usual way, it being clear from the position of the structure that it cannot be older than the main building. Obviously such a use of stone and brick could not have arisen until the Gandhāra style was firmly established, but there is no evidence to show that it was due to decay or decadence (*cf.* Plate XI, a).

At the northern side of the platform just mentioned was a short flight of two steps leading to a pavement in part composed of stucco, and in the same level as the brick pavement to the south. Along this pavement and in line with the east and west walls of the shrine, two parallel trenches were then dug to see if other neighbouring buildings could be found, and the edge of the first pavement also was cleared for a space of some six feet with the same object, but without success. In the more westerly of the two parallel trenches, however, the foundations of two buildings side by side were recovered, but unfortunately no clue to their original nature or purpose was found. On continuing the trenches to the north, furthermore, they both came upon another massive wall running east and west, but on attempting to follow it in these directions it was found to discontinue abruptly at both ends. Whether this was the southern wall of another building or merely a portion of a much longer wall continuing, beyond the reach, to the east, at least, it was impossible to say with certainty. But no trace of any side walls running to the north could be found at either end, and the fact that our cuttings in both places showed that within this wall, and roughly following its height, all was a solid mass of cobblestones or water-worn pebbles, made it seem probable that the wall was a portion either of the outside of a large *stupa* itself or of the solid platform from which the *stupa* rose. But it was impossible to determine the question finally in the course of the first year's work, as the monument at this point lay well beneath the slope of the mound and digging was extremely slow and costly.

The only other remains of interest found the first year were a few bricks in alignment at the extreme west of the main trench, a round basement faced with stucco at the eastern end of the same, and a few small undecorated structures beyond this basement to the east. Owing to a very considerable slope in the land toward the east, which, however, was not apparent on the surface, these smaller buildings at first appeared to be on a much higher level than the other monuments. But on continuing the work the second year they were found to be really part of the same group. And, indeed, it is now evident that they are a few of the many little *stupas* Hiuen-Tsang mentions. But although the work was continued at this part of the site some time after the rest of the excavation was closed, for the express purpose of determining this point, no conclusive evidence was found the first year. Indeed, up



(a) MAIN WALL OF STUPA, SOUTH EAST END



(b) A FEW OF THE LITTLE STUPAS ON THE SOUTH-EAST





to the close of the first season's operations, the fact that a clay seal, inscribed with the Buddhist formula in characters which Dr. Konow assigned to the eighth or ninth century, was found in their immediate neighbourhood, was the only apparent link between them and the other monuments (*cf.* Fig. 2).

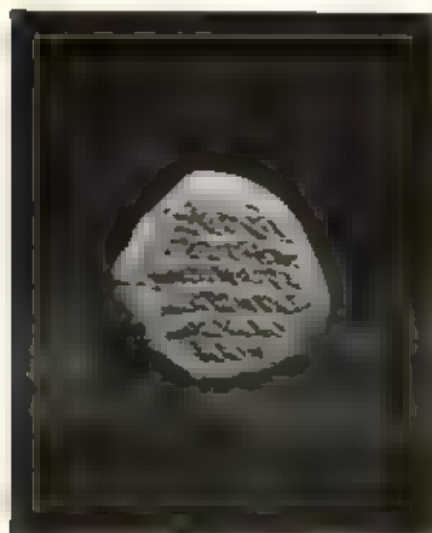


Fig. 2

As for the sculptural remains found the first year, they were few and very inferior. The vast majority were stucco of an unpleasing and very debased type, which was nevertheless not lacking in interest, as the whole method of their manufacture seemed different from the ordinary, the limbs being modelled over thin sticks bound with thread, which is something I have never seen at any other site in this Province. Another noticeable feature was the fact that the pupil of the eye was regularly indicated, which is almost never the case in true Gandhara work. All in all it seemed obvious

that these fragments belonged to a definitely late period, which in the main might be called post-Gandhara. A few small pieces of stone sculpture were recovered, of the familiar Gandhara type, but no single specimen showed anything like the excellence of even the average fragments from Sahribahdol or Takht-i-Bahi.

The numismatic evidence, again, was both meagre and unsatisfactory. Of the nine coins recovered three were wholly illegible. One was a modern coin of no relevancy, two others were of the elephant and lion type of Saka coins, while the remaining three were of the Kushana period.

Thus, up to the end of the first year's operations, practically nothing was found from which any large deductions would have been warrantable. It was undoubtedly a Buddhist site of great extent, but nothing had been recovered to determine the question whether it was Kanishka's *chaitya* or not.

The total expenditure incurred up to this point was R2,422-3-10 of which R2,269-14-4 was drawn from the Budget of the Public Works Department for 1907-8, including a sum of R1,000 kindly reappropriated for the purpose by the Commanding Royal Engineer, Peshawar. The balance of R122-5-6 expended in April was drawn from my own office Budget for 1908-9.

The cost of the work in the second year was R4,296-14-3, all of which was very generously provided by the Director-General of Archaeology out of Imperial funds.

It had been obvious the first year that the massive wall we had found on the north was of peculiar importance, and everything that was possible in the time and with the money at our disposal was done to trace its continuation, but without success. In beginning the work the second year, therefore, this was our main objective. As stated above, the wall terminated abruptly toward the east and could not be traced further on in that direction. But as was shown in the plan published with my Annual Report for 1907-8, we did find, instead of a continuation of this wall to the east, another smaller and rougher wall at right angles to it leading to

the south, but not connected with the main wall. Only the northern end of this minor wall was found the first year, and found so late in the season that it was impossible to explore it properly. But its relation to the main wall was a question of such interest that almost the first thing attempted on the resumption of the work was to ascertain the nature and significance of this fragment.

It seemed probable from the general roughness and unfinished appearance of the wall that it had not been meant to meet the eye. This could only mean either that the side we had met was the inside of the wall, with the eastern face dressed as the exterior (which was found not to be the case), or that it was an interior or strengthening wall, and this was more to appear the more probably the fact that the cobbles which on cutting showed to be thickly packed against its western face were definitely laid and not the mere accumulation of *debris*. At the point of our cutting however, no evidence of any parallel wall on the west had been found, and search was accordingly made a little to the south of the original trench when we had led east and west along the face of the main wall of the *stupa*. Cutting into the bank at this southern point, therefore, we advanced carefully from the west toward the rough wall, and were rewarded to the true by meeting the parallel wall at question. This proved to be covered with stucco, and at the point first reached, sufficiently well preserved to show the original design of its decoration, namely, a line of seated Buddhist figures separated one from another by Ionic-Corinthian pilasters. This is of course a very familiar form of decoration, but the size of the figures was so much in excess of any I had hitherto seen in Gandhāra that it was made evident at once that we had to do with some structure considerably larger than any detached shrine would be. For this reason we did not attempt to turn a corner towards the west, when, after advancing a few feet towards the south, this stucco facing broke down and was lost, but continued clearing the way of it to the south, when isolated fragments of the foundation were recovered and was over a considerable length. As no sign of a corner appeared anywhere between the west wall of the *stupa* and the large trench on the south parallel to it, cutting was then made in the northern side of this east-west trench in order, by advancing to the south, to meet the wall which, it was evident, must have led to the east at right angles to the decorated wall we had been following. Thus we fortuitously found before going very far and proceeded to clear it in both directions, but especially towards the east to get our main lines as soon as possible. Meanwhile another stretch of the main *stupa* wall had been met with a few feet or so to the east (cf. Plate XI *col.*), in perfect alignment with the massive undecorated wall found in the previous year on the west, and this was also followed both east and west until it in turn was found to terminate abruptly at either end. In due time, however, the explanation of all this became clear. We found, when we reached the eastern end of the stucco facade on the south, that this facade turned to the north, then very soon again to the east, and then again to the north, in which direction it continued up to the line of the massive undecorated walls to east and west.

This decorated facade, therefore, formed a large projection leading south from the central portion of the main monument, with recessed corners at the south-east and south-west. This, of course, was an unexpected feature, and furnished us with

our first definite clue to the plan of the whole, and at the same time explained several things which had been puzzling the previous year.

Our search for the corner of the main wall on the east having been fruitless, an attempt was made to meet the corresponding projection on the east for up to this time we had no knowledge of the size of the *stupa* properly, and this was finally met after clearing a number of little *stupas* and meeting with various detached buildings. It was hoped, of course, that by following the edge of this projection towards the west we should naturally meet the main north-south wall on its eastern face, and this we were able to determine at least the south-east corner with precision. But the wall in question proved later to be completely broken down on both sides of the projection, which itself, however, is traceable in its entirety.

Trial diggings on the western side of the *stupa* yielded more satisfactory results. Here the northern stretch of the main wall was seen for the first time, and proved to be much better preserved, probably because the slope of the land from west to east had resulted in this portion of the monument being much more deeply buried, and therefore better protected from the vandalism of those bent on exposing the ruins as a quarry. The wall was at first cut at about its central point, from which it continued towards the north in excellent preservation, but broke down rapidly towards the south.

But the most interesting feature on the west was a discovery of a very well-preserved and very massive stone tower at the north-west corner. Whether this was the actual corner or merely an intermediate point in the façade was not certain until we could follow the curve and find how far it went towards the east and south, but as soon as this point was determined, and the tower was shown to be the true corner, search was made for the diagonally opposite tower on the south-east at the point where, having the suspicion of a possible tower, we had searched for a potential corner. We had found originally one single stone on the ground-level projecting towards the south out of the eastern end of the main wall, but what the explanation of this was it had been quite impossible to guess. After the discovery of the north-west tower, of course, everything was clear. The single stone was seen to be a fragment of the south-east tower, and the appropriate curve was accordingly marked out and search made for any further traces of this lost tower which might prove to be preserved. Such traces were found, but they were very few and pitiful. Nevertheless, they were sufficient to prove the occurrence of a tower at this point, and to give us at last definite knowledge of the size and plan of the monument. For now we had both the north-west and the south-east corners, and could determine the true diagonals of the *stupa* and draw the entire outline by simple measurement.

From this point the work was simple and the whole course of the western projection was speedily recovered and found to be the best preserved of all, the portion adjoining the main wall showing on both the north and south several Buddha figures in admirable condition (cf. Plate XIV. a). But as in the case of the southern projection, this decoration was found to break down more and more as we advanced from the main body of the monument until nothing but the merest foundations were traceable.

Trial diggings on the north, commenced before these points were determined, had led only to the discovery of one rough wall running north and south. As soon



as the exact size and shape of the monument became known, this was seen to be the interior of the eastern supporting wall of the northern projection. But the point was not established in time to permit of our doing more than recovering the eastern face of this projection (which has here lost its stucco ornamentation) before the work was closed for the season. A portion of the main wall on the north at the western end near the north-west tower was recovered, and traces of the tower on both the north-east and the south-west also, but both were found to be badly damaged.

So far as the main monument is concerned, therefore, this season's work has given us the main wall on the south and west and a small portion on the north, with, however, no trace so far on the east, where the stones seem to have been removed. The eastern, the southern, and the western projections have been entirely cleared, and on one side of the northern also, while all four towers have been set free to their foundations. It is, therefore, possible now to restore the ground plan of the monument with absolute certainty in so far as its main outline is concerned, and the actual recovery of the few portions now remaining hidden is a mere question of removing earth.

What the purpose of these projections was is not at present determinable with certainty. They seem too wide to have been steps merely, and the fact that the decoration on them is in one definite horizontal band seems to make against such a supposition. But that one or all of them contained steps is very probable, although no trace of them has as yet been found. At all events the projections appear from their structure not to be a later addition but an integral part of the original plan, and we are thus justified in measuring them in estimating the total size of the monument, which is thus found to have a diameter of 286 feet.

These, as Fergusson says of Marland, whose peristyle measures 220 feet, "are not dimensions to go wild about" in comparison with other famous monuments of antiquity, but in comparison with other known monuments of this class they are truly surprising. According to this same authority the great *stûpa* at Sînchi has a diameter of 106 feet, the Dimneki at Sâratih has a stone basement 93 feet in diameter, while the famous *stûpa* of Amaravati measures only 35 feet. The first class *topes* in Afghanistan are said to measure usually something like 160 feet in circumference, say a diameter of 55 feet at the outside, while even the great Manikyâla *stûpa* in its diameter measures only 150 feet 2 inches. Thus among monuments of its own class (and of course comparison with any others is beside the mark) the *stûpa* at Shâh-jî-kî-Dhêri shows dimensions which are truly gigantic, making it far and away the largest monument of its kind known in India. There can, therefore, be absolutely no question as to its identity. M. Foucaher's reasons for locating Kanishka's great *stûpa* and monastery at this site were so strong as to be all but convincing even as a pure hypothesis, but when to all his arguments is added the vital fact that the *stûpa* is demonstrably the largest in India, the last shadow of a doubt is removed, and we can say positively that Kanishka's *stûpa* has been recovered at last.

But this does not, unfortunately, mean to say that all the problems connected with it are solved. The location of the steps, especially on the east, is very desirable, and also the determination, if possible, of something in the nature of a pavement above the decoration on the projections. It is obvious that the dome of the *stûpa*, or

the main structure of the pagoda (if, as I imagine from the descriptions given in the Chinese pilgrims, the monument was really a transitional form between the simple *stupa* and the far Eastern pagoda) could not have itself risen from the projections. These probably formed approaches to the platform from which the dome of the *stupa* rose, with, in all probability, a processional around it on this higher level. But so far this level has not been found. Nor would there be much hope of finding it in the present condition of the monument, were it not for the fact that the main wall seems to be complete at the north-west corner. Indeed, the top of the western wall, where it joins the north-west corner tower, appears to be definitely on a level with the top of the latter, and as this proven on being cleared to show something very like a pavement, it is possible that this portion of the site will furnish us the clue desired. The point is obviously an important one, for if it does prove possible to recover the higher platform, we may perhaps find at least traces of the base of the actual dome or other superstructure now buried beneath the mass of the mound, and this is, of course, the portion of the whole site which would be most likely to yield sculptural and other small remains.

The fact that on three sides the projecting portions of the base showed stucco ornamentation, while the main walls were everywhere quite undecorated, was for a time puzzling, and raised questions to which no certain answer was forthcoming until closer examination of the western projection solved the problem. Here, fortunately, the junction of the projecting walls with the main wall is preserved, and although the decoration on the main wall even here is lost, both the south-east and the north-east corners of the projection are sufficiently intact to prove conclusively that this decoration originally turned the corner and ran along the main wall as well, the evidence for which point has been duly registered photographically. It is extremely that this decoration should everywhere have been lost on the main wall, but I believe there is a definite explanation for it notwithstanding. It is perfectly demonstrable, where the western projection joins on, that in the case of the main wall the surface was coated with a layer of earth (probably mixed with *chuna*) only about one foot thick. This rested on a kind of step of similar thickness skirting the whole wall, and over this coating of earth was laid the decorated facing of stucco, with the seated Buddha figures between Corinthian pilasters. In other words, the plaster decoration was very closely joined to the smooth surface of the wall, and has peeled off and disappeared in consequence. In the case of the projections, however, the depth of the earth intervening between the actual wall and the ornamental stucco facing is much greater. This means, of course, that the stucco facing was much better supported at these points, and is, in my opinion, sufficient to explain the otherwise curious fact that the plaster has been regularly preserved in the one case and regularly lost in the other. Why it is that even in the case of the projections the plaster is always better preserved near the main wall and more broken down as one advances from it is not quite clear, and I have no explanation to offer. It is, I think, certainly not an indication that the decoration was originally on a slanting line following the rise of possible steps, because wherever the decoration is preserved it shows only horizontal lines. Nor did these horizontal lines extend originally for only a fixed proportion of the length, and then a tapering decline begin, because at



as it were, by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes' with larger-worshipping figures at intervals leaning out of the background toward the Buddhas which device, extending continuously around the casket, terminates at a larger group of figures representing King Kanishka himself standing with an attendant on either side. Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me that the worshipping figures, which are five in number, are haloed and, therefore, must represent divine beings. The two nearest the king have haloes which assume the shape of a radiating sun and of a crescent respectively. These two figures he consequently identifies with the sun and the moon god which occur with similar distinctives on some of Kanishka's gold coins where they are inscribed *Mihro*, *Miaro*, etc. (i.e., *Mihra*) and *Mao*. On one coin we find both deities combined, *Mihra* to the proper left and *Mao* to the proper right, exactly as on the relic casket, the monogram occupying the place of the king in the centre.<sup>2</sup> It appears that each of the two figures on the casket holds a wreath in his right and a sceptre (?) in his left hand, as on some of the coins. The sun-god is evidently shown in the act of crowning Kanishka with his wreath, a well-known conception of Greek and Persian art. It is interesting that a similar device is found on the coins where the deity sometimes holds out a wreath (or in some cases a flame of fire, a purse or an empty hand) over the monogram. Presumably the monogram is the royal symbol, as almost invariably the deity is turned towards it. All these figures are in very high relief, and the design as a whole is admirable in the highest degree. In point of execution, however, as pointed out by Mr. Marshall, the casket shows manifest proof of artistic decadence, and thus enables us to affirm with certainty that the theory held by some writers that the Buddhist art of Gandhāra owed its origin to, or at least reached its prime, under Kanishka, is no longer tenable. That this is a definite step in advance is obvious. Kanishka's casket was certainly not produced until the school of Gandhāra had already reached its decline, and the only possible conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that in its origin the school was considerably older. For there is no doubt at all that this is Kanishka's casket. Not only have we the figure of the king agreeing in all details with the images occurring on his coins, but the inscriptions which have been brought to light by cleaning leave no doubt on the point. Punched into the metal in a series of faint dots, like the writing on the famous Taxila copper plate, these inscriptions occur on the upper surface of the lid, between the flying geese on the lower edge of the lid, and again in the level spaces above and below the figures in high relief decorating the main body of the casket. Major-General R. H. Mahon, Director-General of Ordnance, has been good enough to have the metal of the casket analysed, and writes as follows:—

"The resulting analysis of the bronze casket is:—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	75.18 %
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2.82 "
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11.15 "
Zinc	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.68 "
Iron	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.23 "
Manganese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Nil "
Difference	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3.04 "

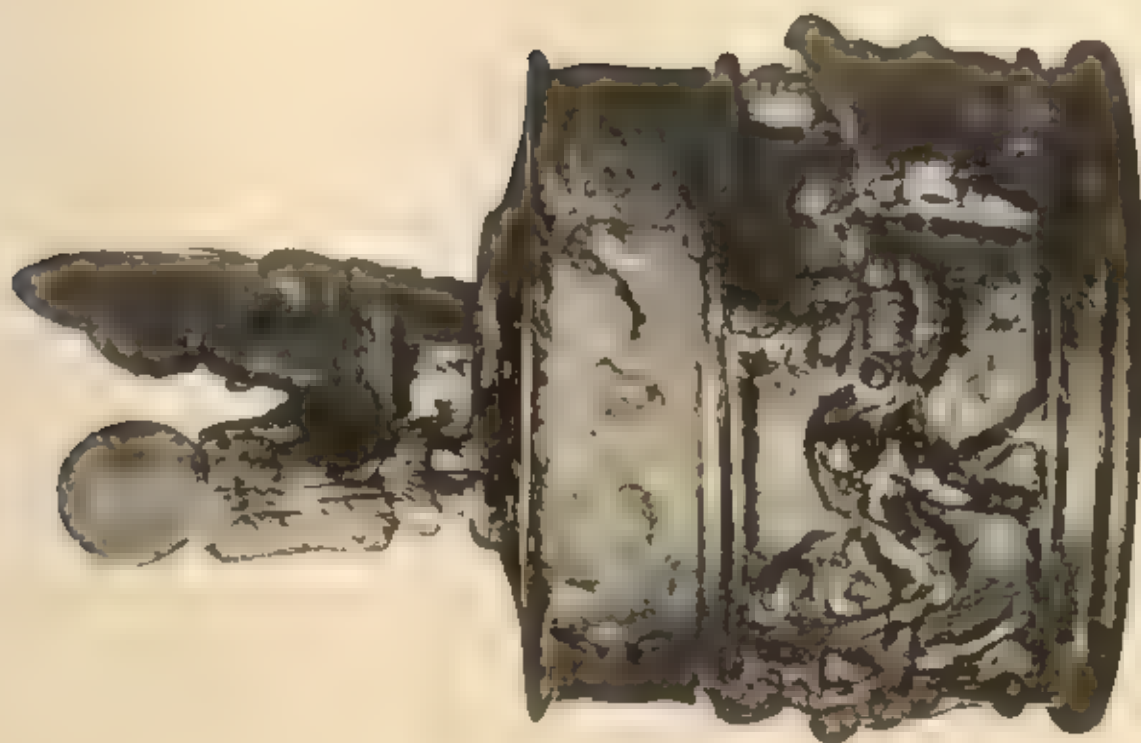
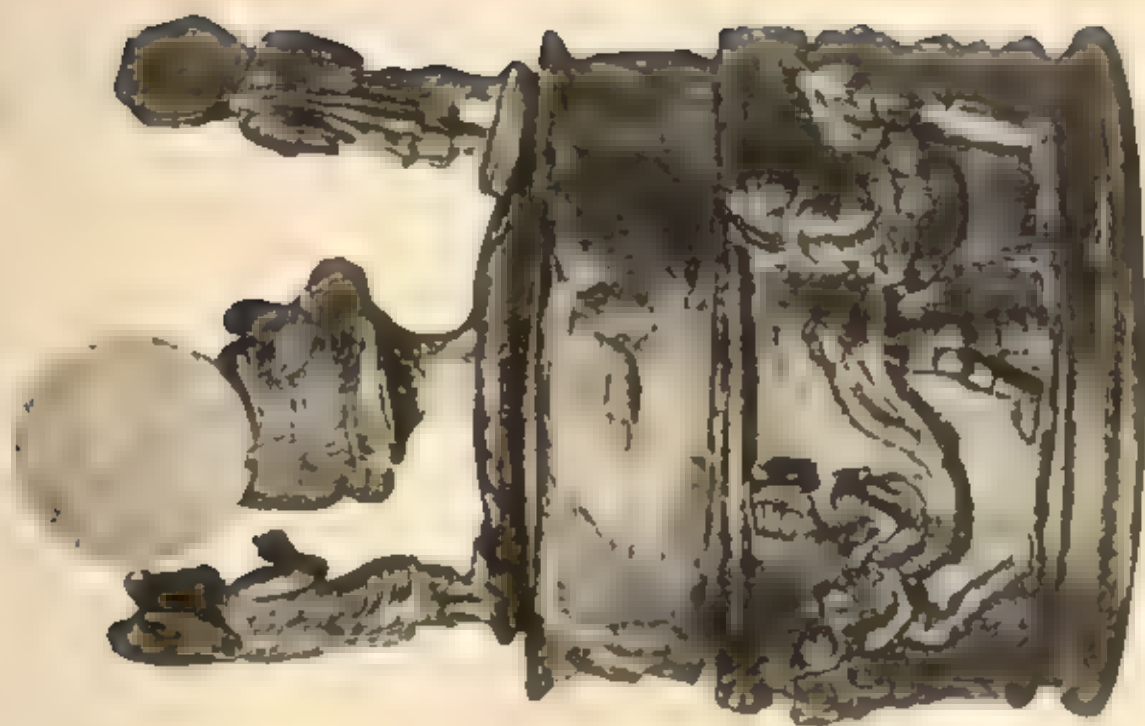
This device, probably borrowed from Hellenistic art, is a very common one in the sculpture of Gandhāra. Cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 148 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*. London 1886, pp. 139 ff., plates XXVI and XXVII.





EXCAVATIONS AT SHAH JI KI DHARI



THE RYLLA ASSEMBLY OF MANAHLA





"The latter item is rather large, but I imagine the amount of material at disposal was insufficient to enable a complete examination to be made.

"As you are no doubt aware, ordinary bronze coins of the Roman period contained, say :—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	89 %
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6 "
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 "

and the composition of the casket is therefore remarkable in containing an unusually large proportion of zinc, comparatively little tin, and a very high proportion of lead.

"The combination of both lead and zinc is remarkable though one or other is usual.

"An ancient arrow head is said to have contained—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	70 %
Zinc	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14 "
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	58 "

"Whether the large proportion of lead and zinc and the shortage of tin will enable you to compare the bronze of this casket with any other bronzes of the same period is an interesting problem."

The inscription on the upper surface of the lid begins just behind the Bodhisattva standing on the proper right of the central Buddha, and reads :

*Acharyana[m] Sarvastivadina[m] pratigrahe.*

This is a well known Buddhist formula, and is usually translated "for the acceptance of the doctors of the Sarvastivadin sect." All the *akṣara*-*m* here are quite clear and certain with the exception of the *ti* in *pratigrahe*, which might equally well be read as a *ri*. In cursive Kharoṣṭhi, however, *ri* and *ti* are very easily confounded, and since the *pro* is certain, it seems better to read the *akṣara* as *ti*, rather than assume the incorrect form *pra-igrahe*, although the commonness of the form *pa-igrahe* in inscriptions would lend support to the reading *ri*.

The second line, which occurs along the lower lip of the lid, among the flying geese, is very faint indeed, and even quite eaten away in places, so that no connected reading is at present possible. But even so the name *Kanishka* appears definitely traceable.

The third and fourth lines occur in the level spaces above and below the figures in high relief around the main body of the casket, the letters being in places crowded together and difficult to decipher. But the reading seems practically certain. The upper inscription reads :

*Devadharma sarvasattvāna[m] hidusuhartha[m] bhavatu.*

This is also a formula, meaning "may this pious gift adound to the welfare and happiness of all beings," and presents no difficulties. The nominative masculine in *o*, as well as the softening of *th* to *h* in *suhartha* are familiar Prākṛit forms, and the *d* for *t* in *hida* (=Skt. *hita*) is paralleled in one of the inscriptions from Chārsada published by Dr. Vogel in the Annual of the Archaeological Department for 1903-4, and is otherwise known. The forms of the *akṣaras rmo*

<sup>1</sup> In *conclusion*, p. 120.

and *lea* (or *lean*), however, differ considerably from those shown in Bühler's tables. It is unfortunate that no facsimile can be given, but in general the former occurs as *y* and the latter as *l*, which is nearest to the form shown in the tables as 38 column VII, though differing greatly in the length of the right hand stroke.

The fourth and last of the epigraphs, however, is the most interesting of those so far deciphered, and reads :

*Dasa Agśala narakarma Kanishkasa eśhara Mahāsēna samphārame.*

The *ka* of *Kanishkasa* is practically the only *akshara* in the whole epigraph about which there is any doubt at all and this is largely due to the fact that it is so jumbled together with the preceding consonant *ma* that it is difficult to separate the dots. With this possible exception there can be no doubt as to the reading, and I would propose, therefore, to translate the whole :

"The slave (or servant) Agśala, the overseer of works at Kanishka's *eśhara* in the *samphārāma* of Mahāsēna."

The word *eśhara* here seems to have rather the force of *stupa* or temple, and the only logical deduction from the epigraph appears to be that at the time when this casket was made for Kanishka he was erecting merely a *stupa* in connection with a monastic establishment already in existence on the site. Who Mahāsēna was I am unable to say, but the inscription clearly points to the real circumstances having been as mentioned above, and it should be added that there is certainly no reason to doubt that they were so. The great monastery of which Hsuen-Tsang speaks, and of which we seem to have definite traces on the west of the pagoda, may very well have been erected by Kanishka at a later date. He would naturally have built his *stupa* first, and the old name of Mahāsēna would as naturally have been lost after once Kanishka's own monastery was established. It is true, of course, that the legends recounted by the Chinese pilgrims to explain Kanishka's erection of the *stupa* seem to imply that the site was more or less wild, and certainly unoccupied up to that time. But these particular legends are so manifestly overgrown with myth that they cannot have any serious weight in the face of the definite statement made in the inscription. For there cannot be the slightest real doubt as to either the reading or the meaning of the epigraph.

The occurrence of the Greek name Agśala is another interesting point. That artisans did find their way to Indian Courts from the Occident in the first century of our era is well illustrated by the legend of St. Thomas, who is said to have been ordered by our Lord to proceed to the Court of Gondophares, and, indeed, nothing could have been simpler than the employment of Hellenistic workmen with the Greek principalities of Bactria in the immediate neighbourhood. For even if Greek rule in Bactria did disappear with Hermaios there is no reason to suppose that the Greek population disappeared at the same time. The prevalence of the Hellenistic art of Gandhara under the Kushana rulers shows conclusively that such artists or artisans were employed, so that the mention of a Greek on Kanishka's casket entirely agrees with the facts as we know them. But that such employment of Greek workmen must have been commoner in the first century before Christ or

\* The term *narakarma* occurs in the form *narakāra* on the Tuxia plate of Patka and in the form *narakāra* in the Manusāli script. Cf. *Lowers, J. B. & S.* for 1905, pp. 353 f.

in the first Christian century, than in the third, is obvious, and the definite mention of a Greek in Kanishka's employ may reasonably be looked upon as a slight confirmation of the view held by those scholars who prefer to date Kanishka earlier. It would certainly be surprising to find a Greek at Kanishka's Court, if, as Dr. Blandarkar thinks, Kanishka reigned from 278 A. D. As for the name Agśala, Mr. Marshall has kindly sent me the following note: "The form Ἀγσάλας occurs in the last paragraph of Cap. 18 of the VIIIth Book of Pausanias, where he is mentioned as a man of Laus, who was victor in the Pythia festival held by the Amphictyons. The forms Ἀγασάλας and Ἀγασάλας also occur, the latter in a Boeotian inscription from northern Greece."

As can easily be inferred from the above, the bulk of our attention this year was given to the recovery of the main monument itself. But incidentally a number of minor detached buildings were uncovered in its immediate neighbourhood. Further digging on the east has resulted in the recovery of a number of other small structures similar to those found the first year, which are now seen certainly to be little *stupas* of various shapes and sizes (Plate XI-*b*). The majority of those so far recovered lie to the south-east of the main *stupa*, but several have been found along the eastern face as well, and it is pretty well certain that further excavation will disclose yet others both west and south-east, and presumably to the north-east, too. This all agrees, therefore, very well indeed with what Hsuei-Tsang tells us. We have the highest pagoda in India on the east of a huge monastery. The entrance to this, he tells us, was on the east, and to the right and left of this entrance were numberless little *stupas*. To the right of the entrance we have not yet dug, beyond following the outline of the main monument, but to the left, that is to say to the south-east, a certain amount of excavation has been carried out; and wherever we go in this direction little *stupas* are found closely crowded together. In one respect, however, they do not seem to agree with what the pilgrim tells us. He declares that they were exceptionally ornate and lavishly decorated, whereas such foundations as we have so far recovered are, with a single exception, perfectly bare of decoration save such as consists of plain mouldings. The exception was an irregular *stupa* base, east of the main monument, which was found to have had a series of stone bas-reliefs running around its sides about one foot above the base, some of which were in position, while badly damaged fragments of other larger reliefs, and one well-preserved group representing Kubera and Hanū, measuring 2 feet square, were found in the surrounding *débris* (cf. Plate XIV-*b*.)

Another sculpture of considerable interest is the bas-relief illustrated in Fig. (c) of Plate XIV. Apparently the main intention in this composition is to depict the archery contest in which the Bodhisattva demonstrated his superiority to the other Śākya youths. To the right is seen the Bodhisattva in the act of drawing his bow (evidently in this case not the gigantic bow of Sindhavarṇa, but the one used in the earlier part of the contest, for it is stated in the Laṅkāvatāra that in drawing the former, Siddārtha did not even rise from his seat). Behind him stands an interested spectator, possibly the Daśapāni mentioned in the text; while in front are two children, one with a quiver, and the other apparently holding a long staff, to the

<sup>1</sup> Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* p. 82, s. Ἀγσάλας.



top of which is affixed some circular object, whose nature is not clearly defined. It is possible that this refers to the iron drums which the Bodhisattva is about to pierce with his arrow; but if this is so, it must be acknowledged that the representation is exceedingly feeble and unsatisfactory. The remainder of the composition, the left hand portion, that is to say, seems to refer not to the archery contest itself, but to some other feat performed by Siddhārtha on the same occasion. For he seems certainly to be represented again in the haloed figure in the left-centre, who is shown holding a rope, the greater part of which is coiled up on the ground by his side. The intention of the sculptor here as well as in the two attendant figures to the left,



FIG. 3

entirely escapes me. It seems quite possible that the object held in such a conspicuous way by the figure appearing out of the background behind the Bodhisattva is a clumsily represented sling in which the figure is fixing a stone. Nothing that I can find in the Lalitavistara's account of these athletic contests seems to have any bearing on the problem. What exactly is meant by the "*Paśagraha*" in which the Bodhisattva is there stated to have excelled (Chap. XII, P. 158, line 11 in Leumann's edition) is not clear to me. The interpretation, therefore, must remain undetermined for the present; but that some one of the athletic contests is intended appears practically certain.

M. Alfred Foucher, Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne at Paris, has favoured me with the following interesting note on the sculpture discussed above, Plate XIV (c):—

"Bas-relief de *Shah-jī-kī-Dhērī* (Essay d'interprétation.)"

"I. Partie droite. Le Bodhisattva (numbē) debout, bande son arc; un Śākya adulte (son père?) lui soutient le coude droit; devant lui deux enfants tiennent l'un le carquois, l'autre la cible (Qu'est-ce qui est figuré sur la cible?) C'est le concours de tir à l'arc."

"II. Partie gauche: trois personnages.

(a) Au milieu et au second plan un jeune Śākya élève visiblement dans sa main droite le bout de deux cordes d'une fronde, dans la pochette de

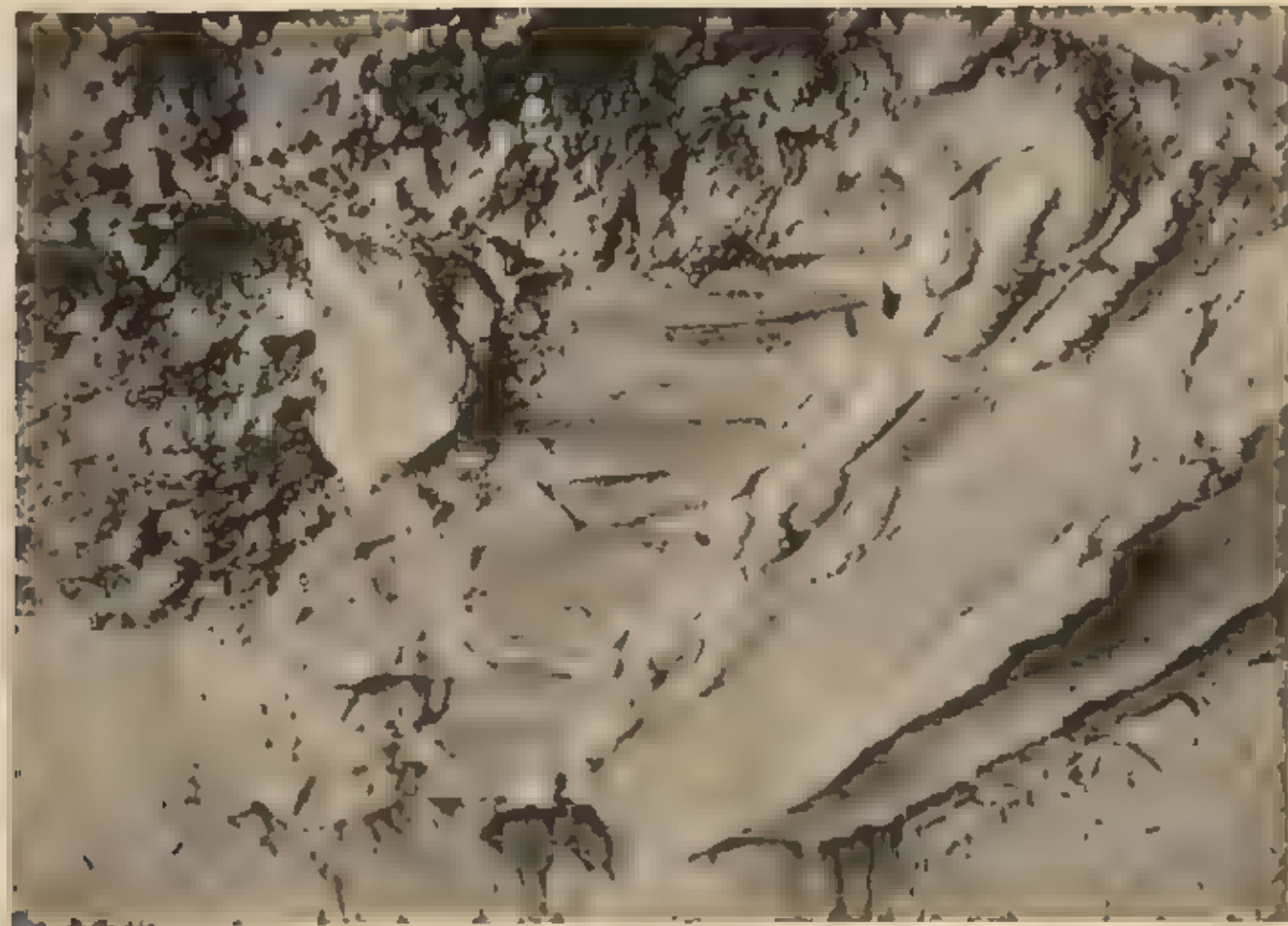
PLATE XIV. THE ABILITY OF THE



6) RUBEN AND HANNAH



7) THE ABILITY OF THE



8) THE ABILITY OF THE





laquelle il place de la main gauche un projectile ; c'est un rappel du *match* de fronde."

- (b) Il s'ensuit que le rouleau représenté à terre est aussi un rouleau de corde, les torons en sont figurés de la même manière. Or à droite le Bodhisattva (nimbé) et à gauche un jeune Śākya tiennent chacun de la main droite une des deux extrémités de cette corde *en marchant dans des directions opposées* : la seule explication possible est donc qu'il s'agit d'un *match* de "tag-of-war." Pourquoi non ? Nil novi sub sole. Malheureusement, je ne vois pas que le texte du Lalita-vistara nous donne un nom pour ce genre de sport parmi tous ceux qu'il énumère."

A very large number of other sculptural fragments in stucco and terra-cotta were found to the west of this *stūpa*. These were for the most part curiously grinning heads, which seem certainly to have been grotesques of sorts, together with more serious doll-like heads wearing high and elaborate head-dresses (Fig. 3). Whether these are very late forms of Bodhisattvas it is impossible to say, but that they, as well as the grotesques, the floral ornaments, and the heads of bears and dragons (or perhaps better *nāgas*), which were recovered here, formed part of the ornamentation of these buildings, now lost, seems certain, and perhaps gives us the clue to their present unadorned condition. For if, as appears probable, these structures belong in the main to the later centuries during which the site was occupied (they may even be later than Hsuen-Tsang's visit in some cases), they were not erected during the period of that stone sculpture which is typical of Gandhāra. Instances of real Gandhāra sculpture, therefore, would naturally be rare, and would be found only where ancient sculptures had been procured from older buildings and reset, as was almost certainly the case as regards the *stūpa* just mentioned, which has every appearance of being a very late structure. The bulk of the ornamentation, however, was stucco and terra-cotta and *modelled earth painted* (as is shown by the numerous fragments of such figures which were found). And this has for the most part disappeared, owing to its perishable nature, leaving the little *stūpas* in their present unadorned condition. This bears out, then, my original theory, mentioned in my first report. That only late sculptures of a very decadent type should *preval* at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī was what might have been expected. It was the almost total absence of older fragments which raised a doubt last year. But this year a sufficient number of older fragments have been found to prove early occupation, and one find in particular establishes the great antiquity of the site beyond peradventure.

This, one of the most interesting finds so far recovered, consists of a number of fragments of inscribed bricks found among the *débris* on the western edge of the western projection of the main *stūpa*. No single unbroken brick was recovered, but from the fragments one can infer that they measured originally 9×6 inches by about an inch and a half in thickness. They show curiously corrugated backs with smooth faces, but the most peculiar feature of all is that the smooth face shows a thin coating of coarse glaze, thus giving us proof of the use of glazing at a date much earlier than has hitherto been known. For beneath this glaze the epigraph had been incised, which enables us to date the fragments with tolerable accuracy.

But although a very large number of such brick fragments were recovered in our particularly careful search, only eighteen were found with any writing preserved on them, and in the majority of cases even these showed only one or two letters each. One, however, bears the epigraph "*Budhase*", which appears to be part of a compound, and another the letters "*Dicasa*", but no complete record can be made out



Fig. 3

The most important fact to be noted, however, is that the character used is an early Kharoshthi of a period, it may be said, intermediary between the extreme varieties known, say 1st century A.D. That such an epigraph on bricks would have been moved from one place to another is, to my mind, out of the question, and its occurrence here is, therefore, another positive proof of the early date of the monument.

The coins recovered confirm the point. For of the many copper coins found at various places the majority of those in a recognizable condition belong to the Kushana period, although a few were as late as the Śāhis of Kabul. The only one, however, from which important conclusions can be drawn with certainty is the copper coin of Kanishka found in the centre of the *stupa* mound beside the relic chamber. The significance of this discovery is obvious, for this coin alone would have been strong presumptive evidence as to the identity of the relics, even if the casket had proved to be uninscribed. As it is, it harmonizes perfectly with all the evidence from other sources.

Throughout the first season's operations at Shah-jī-ki-Dhērī our attention was given wholly to the *stupa* mound, hoping there, if anywhere, to find definite proof of the identity of the site. But on resuming the work this year it was decided to examine at least a portion of the larger monastic mound to the west as well. A series of trial pits was accordingly dug across the centre of the mound from east to west in the hope of determining the level and position of the central courtyard. But although a pavement of pounded brick-dust was found at the bottom of each, we did not find any trace of buildings, and for this reason made trial diggings more to the east. Here, however, an intricate maze of walls was found very near the surface, which time did not permit of our clearing. But more satisfactory results were obtained at the south-east. As shown in the very brief report of Lieutenant C. A. Crompton, R.E., dated 30th March 1875, the Sappers and Miners under his command had, as he calls it, opened out "the descending gallery on the south side of

the mound" (marked A on his plan). This gallery, he says, "was cleared out to a length of 42 feet from the mouth, when a circular chamber 10 feet in diameter was reached. On clearing this chamber water was reached, and no trace of a continuation of the passage from this chamber was found; possibly this was an old well." No trace of this well was visible on our arrival. What we actually found was a rough tunnel dug, seemingly, by the Sappers and Miners themselves, in the south-east end of the main mound, leading at a sharp turn downwards and to the north, well into the body of the mound. There was no indication of any passage or gallery except the tunnel itself, which had been led right through a pavement between two large brick columns, which the excavators seem not to have noticed. The edge of this pavement was clearly traceable on both sides of the shaft they had sunk, and also one corner of one of the two columns. We began our work at this spot, therefore, with this definite clue. The edge of the pavement was cleared on both sides of the tunnel for a width of 3 or 4 feet as far as it was safe to clear it with the mass of overhanging earth above, and the columns were both set free. In order to get at this very deeply buried building, which seems certainly to be a monastery, a trench was then outlined on the surface of the mound with the two columns already mentioned, but to the west of the tunnel, in the hope of recovering a definite columnar. But long before anything like the required depth was reached, the diggers came upon another pavement some 10 feet above the first. In order to find out what this was, therefore, the idea of sinking a trench to uncover the lower monument was for the time being laid aside, and the men were ordered to clear the upper pavement first of all.

Meanwhile the remains of an entirely modern *lakṣhman* adjoining the tunnel on the east had been cleared. Here again a rough brick pavement was found, but only 6-5" above the lower monastery, and thus not on the level of the upper pavement on the west. In order not to have all access to the lower building closed, we cut through this brick pavement on the east and went down to the level of the older monument. Here the original pavement was found to continue, and in line with the two columns previously noticed there was found to the east, but in a poor state of preservation. North of this, however, a fourth column was recovered measuring 4-10" square (the columns very slightly, but approximately this measurement) rising to a height of 5-3", or just beneath the pavement we had removed. It seems evident, therefore, that we have here the inside corner of a monastic building, and there is a reasonable hope that the main lines of this building can be recovered. The fact that the limited portion of this pavement which we were able to approach this year was covered with various bits and fragments of metal and so forth, including one Budhist temple ornament in excellent preservation, representing the Three Jewels supported on a central shaft crossed in the middle by a trident and terminating in a crescent (below of Fig. 5), makes it probable that a thorough clearance would yield interesting results. The brick columns, moreover, are, in Mr. Marshall's opinion, the largest known examples of such structures in early monastic architecture in India and this points clearly to the importance of the building.<sup>1</sup> The level on which that lowest pavement occurs, it should further-

<sup>1</sup> There need can be no doubt that the massiveness of these brick columns was imitated in the later cave temples. Such massiveness is necessary when building masonry, even without mortar, but it is of purposeless in the case of rock-hewn pillars. (J. H. M.)



more be noticed, is about the level of the fields surrounding and burying the main



Fig. 2.

*stūpa*, so that there is every possibility that an even older structure will be found beneath the lowest remains yet discovered in this portion of the site. The explanation of this greater depth here is furthermore clear. The oldest building was manifestly burnt down, as is witnessed by the strata of charcoal traceable in the sides of our cutting. Over the ruins of this older building another structure was raised as time went on, and the process seems to have been repeated a number of times. There are at least three definite pavements at different levels at this one corner of the mound alone, and a little to the north yet other walls and pavements at other levels still. Of all these, however, only the uppermost one has as yet been cleared to its edge, so that this is the only one which can be described in detail.

In form this pavement, which is composed of bricks very carefully laid, measuring  $16'' \times 10''$ , is square, with a measurement of  $14' 10''$ . There are no evidences

so far of any bounding walls, but along the southern edge of the pavement a long narrow pile of masonry occurs, built of large blocks of conglomerate  $19'' \times 7''$ , and measuring itself  $11' 6'' \times 4' 3''$ . This seems to have been a sort of altar or pedestal, for at either side of it, and advanced a little from it towards the north, is the square base of what seems to have been a 14-sided column measuring in the base  $4' 3''$  and in the shaft  $3' 11''$  in diameter, with which two similar bases correspond on the north, the four forming evidently the support for whatever originally covered the altar. Among the small finds recovered on this pavement were a few coins and a fragment (about half) of a steatite medallion decorated in low relief with the very animated figure of a warrior evidently in combat with a person or animal now lost.

On the whole, the smaller finds in both mounds were both few and disappointing. A number of undecorated pottery bowls were found near the eastern end of the wall north of the high pavement described above, and one very large earthenware jar. But apart from the sculpture fragments mentioned above as coming from the eastern portion of the whole site, and the coins discussed elsewhere, few articles call for special mention. One or two fragments of colossal sculptures in stone were found, notably a huge head, now badly damaged, and the broken torso of a Buddha figure, the latter in the *débris* above the southern edge of the western projection, but no large sculptures in good preservation were recovered. One earthenware lamp-



stand, however, is worthy of notice. A round and fairly deep bowl, it shows a square receptacle in the centre raised on a short pedestal with a four edges incurving in a very graceful way, while the edge of the whole is set with ten little *enoughs* of the usual form, making all in all a little collection of lamps that must have been very effective. But these, together with a small clay seal ring with the Buddhist formula in late characters from the uppermost pavement in the monastery, are almost the only articles of interest among the vast mass of uninteresting fragments encountered.

D. B. SPOONER.



Fig. 1. View of marshes from south-west and of 'Ali village in the distance.

## THE SEPULCHRAL TUMULI OF BAHRAIN

### HISTORY.

**T**HE kingdom of Bahrain was well known to the ancients—by the designation perhaps of its largest island—from the earliest times.

Under the name of N-luk-ki (or Nituk?) in the Akkadian language, and of Tilun or Tannan in Assyrian, it was frequently associated with the districts of M-lukh and Magan (probably the modern Oases of Hasa and Qatif) in the Mesopotamian inscriptions.

Sargon I of Akkad reduced N'dukh and "the black-heads" about 2770 B.C., and his son Naram-Sin defeated the kings of Magan and Aprah (Pihikal, Ophir?) in the same neighbourhood a few years later.

Two thousand years later the annals of the younger Sargon, King of Assyria, record that he received the submission of Hupir, King of the islands.

It is therefore no matter for great surprise that a stone should have been found in Bahrain 30 years ago, bearing a Hieratic Babylonian inscription, which has been transliterated by Sir H. Rawlinson,—H-kal Rimugas, er-Inzak, Aq ru, i.e., "The Palace of Rimugas, the servant of Mercury, of the tribe of Ogyr."

Four and a half centuries after Hupir or about 325 B.C., the existence of the islands was noticed by the historians of two Greek expeditions which explored the coasts of the Persian Gulf under the orders of Alexander the Great.

The first squadron, commanded by Nearchus and Orthogoras, was coasting up the Persian side when at Oaracta or Voroetha, the modern Kishm Islands, a pilot named Mitropastes was taken into service. This Mitropastes, we learn from Strabo's account, had been banished by King Darius to Eyr-né, the island where was to be seen the tomb of King Frytaras "on a high mound covered with wild pithos;" and he had subsequently fled to Voroetha from Ogyris, which therefore we assume to

have been synonymous with, or adjacent to, his place of exile—Tyrinê. It has been pointed out by Sir H. Rawlinson that Arrian, in stating that the tomb of King Erythras was on the island of Viroetha itself, has excellently misquoted his authority, the original and now forgotten historian of the expedition.

Androsthenes the commander of Alexander's other expedition, traveled down the Arabian Coast as far as the islands Tyros and Arados, which he places in the vicinity of Gerrha the earlier Mithradates in the mainland. These islands, according to Strabo, contained temples resembling those of the Phoenicians, but by colonists of that nation.

It is suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson that the names Tyrinê and Tyros are the Persian versions as given by the poets of the old name TAYUN, TAL or TSA, while the name of the lesser island seems to survive to the present day in the form ARID, which belongs to one of the villages still existing thereon.

Following upon the Græco-Egyptian writers, in the first century A.D., the Roman Ptolemy describes the island of Tylos, opposite Gerrha on the mainland, as being famous for its pearls. He also mentions Ogyris as the site of Erythras' tomb. A century later, the geographer Ptolemy shows Tylos and Thagro islands on his map, and makes mention of Axtinos the lesser island, and Ougoris in his text. The positions of Ptolemy's islands are, like the outline of his coast in this neighborhood, considerably in error but it is not difficult to identify Tylos with the modern Târat island opposite Qatif, and to enter thereafter the identity of Tylos with Bahraïn.

In the seventh century A.D. the Christian provinces of Katar (the modern Qatar) included five seas, (1) Darû, (2) Masariq, (3) Taron or Tlam, (4) Kuata and (5) Hagar, which perhaps may be identified with the modern (1) Darû on Târat Island, (2) Samrah, the northernmost village of Mubarrâq Island, marked on Niebuhr's map, (3) Bahrâïn proper (i.e., the largest island of the group), (4) Khatt, or the coast-line from Sa'wa to Qatif, and (5) the Hasâ Oases.

In modern days, the Arab geographers knew Bahrâïn as the maritime district, which stretched from Bahrâïn Qunfâr and from Yamama (i.e. Najd) to the Persian Gulf, the Arabian names of which it included. The capital of this district was Hagar meaning town or Ahsâ, the modern Hissâ. At the present day this last name is used indifferently for the Oases of about 100 square miles and for the chief town which is more specifically known as Hofuf—of the similar practice regarding Bahraïn and its capital Manama and Qatar with its chief town Doha.

The origin of the name of Bahraïn, "the two waters," is explained by Yâqut as referring on the one hand to a 'Bahrâra' "the sea" which receives the surface waters of the Hasâ springs on the edge of the Oases, and on the other hand to the Persian Gulf. Another suggested explanation is that the waters referred to are the Shatt-al-'Arab estuary and the subterranean river which feeds the springs of Hasâ, Qatif, and the Bahraïn Islands. According to verbal information which has been

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII N. S. (1880).

<sup>2</sup> The only work of this period which I have been able to consult personally is Yâqut's "*Ma'adin al-Bihar*" the name from which Sir H. Rawlinson quotes in his "*Notes on Captain Durrand's Report*," in *J. B. 1844* etc. I conjectured, however, that the other waters of the same period mentioned by Rawlinson as being the *Hasâ*, *Iskân*, *Hasâ*, *Amra*, *Fida*, *Ibn Khaldûn*, *Hâjî Khalfâ*, &c., are in general agreement regarding the limits of Bahraïn, and the principal locations and tribes found within its borders. [Cf. F. Wustenfeld, *Bahraïn und Jemûma. Neue Arabischen Geographien beschreiben*. Göttingen 1874. Ed.]

given to me, the Hasā Oasis is bordered on the east and west by large marshy lakes, having an area of several miles each.

A third solution therefore would seem to be possible, giving the name proper to the Oasis only: its subsequent extension to the larger district, including Qatif, Qatif and the islands would easily occur when these latter came under the domination of one ruler or perhaps one tribe, the Ban' Khālid for instance, who certainly were pre-eminent throughout the whole area a few centuries ago.

Yāqut gives us two other pieces of interesting information. The ancient inhabitants of Bahrain, he says, were Hāyarites, not Arabs, using a speech and writing different from Arabic. One of their islands Awāl, is named after a god, and another of their gods was called Muharrīq. At the present day Muharrīq is the name of the second largest island and town in the group, the town alone containing about 20,000 inhabitants. It is on this island that the ancient villages of Arad and Samahiy are situated. It seems surprising that the name Arad is not mentioned by Yāqut, for while agreeing with Sir H. Rawlinson that there can be no connection between Arad and the Phoenician Arvad, I think this authority may be wrong in assuming that the name Arathos given by Ptolemy is a correcter form than the Arados of the earlier writers. Sir H. Rawlinson's only reason for this suggestion is, I believe, founded on a fallacy, for in Yāqut I find no mention of a village named Arrat (أرأت), but the place mistaken for it is written Āra (آرا) in my copy of "Mu'jam-al-Buldan." The situations of this spot and of eight of the other places (out of nine) given by Yāqut in his special article on Bahrain have been described to me by my Hasawi friends. All these spots are thus proved, with the exception of Dārīn, to be on the mainland, and there can be little doubt, I think, but that the tenth, Zara, which we have not identified, should be looked for outside of the island group.

I give below the names in Yāqut's general list, which have been identified as belonging to the region of old time Bahrain.

1. Āra, a well and ancient Bedouin camping ground north of 'Ayun.
2. Ahsā, now more generally called Hasā. The inland Oasis, also an alternative name for the chief town Hofuf. The names of the ancient forts ḡafā and Mushaqqar are still preserved, the former being applied to a spring and flowing stream.
3. Awāl, the largest island of Bahrain, now generally called Bahrain.
4. Barmūna, a large tract containing many wells, inland and south of the Trucial 'Omān coast.
5. Thaj, a ruined town in the Wādī-al-Miyā, a considerable distance north of the Hasā Oasis.
6. Jabala, a village on Bahrain island.
7. Juhaila, ditto.
8. Jufair, ditto.
9. Juwathā, a ruined mosque, with a spring on the edge of the Hasā Oasis.

Local tradition says that here was erected one of the first four mosques of the Islamic era.

10. Khatt, the coast-line from Qatif to Salwa.







11. **Dar**, a group of wells on a caravan route to the interior.
  12. **Darun**, a town on Fara' island, separated from the mainland by a shallow sea, fordable at low tide.
  13. **Rumaila**, a village of Qaṭar.
  14. **Salūr**, a well, now disused, on the caravan route to Najd.
  15. **Sabakka**, an immense salt marsh, which divides Ḥasā from 'Oman.
  16. **Samalaj**, the northernmost village on Muharraq island.
  17. **Sakla**, a village on Bahrain island.
  18. **Sulsiḍ**, a broad torrent-like stream, running through the Ḥasa Oasis.
  19. **Turaibil**, a village in the Ḥasa Oasis.
  20. **Dhaharān**, a hill and district near Qaṭif.
  21. **'Adān**, the coastal tract between Qaṭif and Kowar.
  22. **'Uqair** (generally pronounced 'Ugair or 'Ojair), the port for the Ḥasā Oasis, now garrisoned by the Turks.
  23. **'Unak** (now pronounced 'Anik and 'Anich), a village and fort in the Qaṭif Oasis.
  24. **Ainain**, a favourite camping ground with wells north of Qaṭif.
  25. **'Ayūn**, the northernmost village of Ḥasā, walled and moated.
  26. **Ghaha**, a spring and garden, south of 'Ayūn.
  27. **Gāra** (pronounced Gāra), a large circular hill in the Ḥasa Oasis, situated about 5 miles east of Hofūf town. The German traveller Hermann Burchardt,<sup>1</sup> who paid a flying visit to Ḥasā in 1904, wrote of this place: "I found great interest in the 1½ hours distant (from Hofūf) village of Gāra, with its wonderful sandstone formations and its extensive caves, which in the hot weather are used as cool summer dwellings."
- I understand that it is the people of Hofūf itself who chiefly occupy these caves in the hot months, though the lower slopes of the hill maintain in addition a dozen permanent villages just above the level of the date-gardens and rice-fields which surround it on every side.
28. **Qaṭar**, the extensive promontory of the mainland east of Bahrain. The name perhaps originally applied more properly to the chief town on its eastern side, now called generally **Ad Doha** ("the Bay").
  29. **Qaṭif**, the chief town of the coastal Oasis, north-west of Bahrain.
  30. **Qalārā**, a common name, applied to a bay in Bahrain as well as to two capes on the mainland, one of the Qaṭar promontory and the other of Qaṭif.
  31. **Muzairi'a**, a village of Ḥasa.
  32. **Natā'**, more commonly called **Antā'**, a village in the Wadi-al-Miya north of Ḥasā.
  33. **Naqair**, a group of wells, north of Ḥasā.
  34. **Hajar**, a name—not used now, but well known by tradition to have formerly belonged to Hofūf.
  35. **Yabril** (or **Jabril**), an Oasis with a bad reputation for unhealthiness south of Ḥasā. Its villages are now deserted, though the date groves still exist for the benefit of the Bedouin.

<sup>1</sup> Murdered in 1900 somewhere near Hadramut.

Another name mentioned by Yaqut, though unrecognized now, may perhaps be of interest—Tarm, "the *Madina* 'chief city' of Awāl." Can this be the Tyros of the Greek travellers?

At the time of the conversion to Islam Bahrain in the larger sense of the name seems to have been an appanage of the Persian province of Ilira, governed by the practically independent Viceroy Mandoz. Two and a half centuries later the whole district with Qatar and Qasab fell under the schism of the Karmathians, who originated from Kala, and who abetted the general antagonism and reaction, felt throughout Arabia and Persia, against the predominant despotism assumed by the Caliphate and the Quraish tribe. The tenets professed by Karmath's followers were pantheistic in theory and socialist in practice. They regarded the *Qurān* as an allegorical book, rejected all levities, fasting and prayer, and were communistic even in the matter of wives. In 929 A.D. these sectaries actually succeeded in storming Mecca itself, violating the *Kaba*, and removing the sacred Black Stone to Hama, only restoring it under heavy ransom some twelve years later.

The sect existed, gradually weakening in power, for two hundred years in Arabia, though one division, the "Assassins" of North-Eastern Persia, survived a century more, and the Syrian Druses of the present day are considered by some to descend from the same source.

The history of Bahrain during this period, till the close of the fifteenth century, seems to have no record, though as the agricultural classes and villagers generally at the present day, both in the islands and in Hama and Qatif, are Shi'as, it seems certain that a close connection with Persia must have again quickly been resumed, even if it did not exist during the ascendancy of the Karmathians, whose apostles themselves came from Persia.

From 1507 to 1622 the Portuguese succeeded in obtaining the mastery of the islands for the sake of the pearl industry, and that their power must have been real is evidenced by the fact that their substantial fort was largely built with the stones taken from the ancient and largest mosque of the island, the two minarets of which still stand, unweared for by the present Arab power, to guide the steamers of to-day to their customary anchorage.

The Portuguese were eventually driven from Bahrain with ignominy by Shah 'Abbas the Great, after which the islands became a dependency, at times nominal only, of the Persian Port Governors, who themselves were sometimes, perhaps generally, Arabs of the Persian Coast.

In 1783, at a time when they were practically independent, these islands were captured by a confederacy of Arab tribes, having originally from Kowait though temporarily from Qatar, the leader of which founded after several vicissitudes a firmly established government over the Principality.

With regard to the later history of the Qases of Hama and Qatif it will suffice to say that they quickly, though unwillingly, succumbed to the Wahhābi Power of Najd in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and that in 1871 they were cap-

Cf. M. J. de Goeje. *Mémoire sur les Ruines de la Basmah et des Is. limitées. Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie asiatiques* No. 11 Leide, 1869.

tured from the latter by Turkish troops and formally absorbed in the Basra Willāyat of the Ottoman Empire.

### Geographical Description.<sup>1</sup>

The largest island of the Bahrain group, itself now properly known as Bahrain with Manama for its chief town, is about 30 miles long from north to south and 12 miles wide at its northern extremity, while it tapers to a point at the southern end. The district fortified by the abundant fresh-water springs, which seem to be a continuation of those appearing in the Husā and Qatif neo-land Oases, is somewhat sharply defined; it includes beside the northernmost quarter of Bahrain Island, the whole island of Muharrag, and the northern half of Sitra Island, appearing as well in the form of submarine springs within these lineal limits on various reefs, which are uncovered, or almost uncovered, at low tides.

The sepulchral tumuli, the subject of this report, are found only on the main island. Besides appearing in some four or five scattered localities in the midst of the green cultivation and villages where, from the height of the ground surface, or perhaps the deep sandiness of the soil, the land appears like a waste, the mounds are seen chiefly skirting the whole of the inner edge of the northern cultivated area, which roughly appears in the shape of a young moon tapering down the east and west shores of the island into the narrowest widths of a few hundred yards. Inland of the cultivation, after the intervention of a bare sandy plain, averaging perhaps a mile in width, the ground in places rises abruptly in cliff formation and elsewhere gently slopes up to a height of about 200 feet, presenting for about a couple of miles in the direction of the centre of the island a limestone surface strewn with flinty, lichen-covered pebbles and frayed with dry water courses or nullahs at every few hundred yards. On the inner edge of this highland the country drops crater-like and generally with overhanging rocky surface some 15 to 30 feet, so that a winding passage of descent for pack-animals into the centre of the island can be found only at rare intervals of several miles. Within the "crater," which however is certainly not of volcanic origin, occur spaces of meadow land (ready-made in appearance for racing, polo, and similar games<sup>1</sup>) intermingled with bare and stony patches of gravel and rock. In the centre of all rises Jalalūd-Dīkhān, the black rocky hill of 140 feet in height, which constitutes the last land mark for mariners steering for the islands.

It is, as I have previously observed, on the northern and western slopes of the flinty up-land and on the sandier soil at its foot that the principal collection of mounds is seen. The area here covered by them is fully 20 square miles, and in many directions and quarters the smaller tumuli, having diameters at their bases of about 20 feet, are so crowded together that it would be impossible to find room for the insertion of additional mounds of the same size in their midst. In other parts, and especially on the higher surface, the mounds are less closely packed; indeed the mounds so situated on the greatest elevation are in the worst condition, so wind-swept an appearance have they. In their case the earth once mingling with the stones has all melted away, with the result that almost every summit has fallen in badly, clearly indicating the destruction of the tomb inside.

<sup>1</sup> On the accompanying map (Plate XV), read *Dammām* for *Dammam* and *Mithra* for *Mithra*.

The other localities on the island where sepulchral tumuli occur, are (a) on the north coast about a mile west of the Portuguese Fort, where only six exist in a line, (b) close to the old ruined mosque with two minarets, where about the same number are seen, (c) about two miles north-west of 'Āh where about two square miles of mounds occur, similar to the single-storied ones in the largest group, and (d) two miles south-west of the Portuguese Fort, where a sandy square mile of country is thickly occupied by smallish mounds.

The tumuli mentioned under (a) and (b) must originally have been as large as those immediately south of 'Āh village, on the excavation of which we have chiefly been engaged. They were constructed, however, with a much smaller percentage of flint in the piles of earth and have therefore, now been blown in the course of time into irregular heaps not exceeding fifteen feet in height, the result is that the position of the tombs has become much harder to guess correctly, though it is quite conceivable that they may still be a good preservation and well repay digging into.

One other ruin of interest there is in Bahraïn, just south of the old minaretted mosque. The Arabs call it *Qala't Dayyānūn*, "the ancient fort," and I have wondered whether it may not be the basement of an old Babylonian tower. It is a square erection, apparently without a doorway, composed chiefly of clay with a masonry wall all round, and outside the latter is more clay and earth to a thickness of several feet. I have not measured the sides, but estimate roughly that they are about 100 feet in length and about 30 feet high. The interior of the building is now more or less hollow, but I attribute this fact to the clay having probably been removed in later times by the villagers around.

### Previous Excavations.

The sepulchral tumuli of Bahraïn were first brought to the notice of modern savants by Captain (now Sir) E. L. Durand, First Assistant to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who was deputed by the Government of India to reside for some months in these islands in 1878-79.

Captain Durand's curiosity was naturally excited at the appearance of the wonderful and unique collection, which perhaps forms the first extensive necropolis in the world. He accordingly proceeded to open out one of the smaller mounds with a view to ascertaining the best method of dealing with a large one, and he subsequently attacked one of the latter, though unfortunately with little success.

The results of his work were that the lesser mound was proved to cover a small hollow tomb, stone-built and flat-roofed, with recesses on either side at the two ends of the central chamber. A human skeleton was discovered in a sitting position in the north-eastern recess, and the bones of a sheep or gazelle were found in the opposite cavity. More bones were found in another part of the tomb, which also produced two earthen bowls of different qualities, together with some fragments of ivory or wood and a quantity of small shapeless pieces of oxidised brass or copper.

With regard to the larger mound marked A in my map (Plate XVI), Captain Durand was able to discover little, as the roof of the main chamber, which was reached after considerable difficulty, was found to have fallen in. The conjecture that date-tree trunks and matting must have formed an integral part of the construction is



# PLAN OF MOUNDS AT 'ALI

See Plate I





strongly corroborated by my own conclusions in regard to the largest mound opened by me.

It is impossible at this late to say for certain whether Captain Durand's mound was double-storied or whether it only contained a frontal frening similar to that which is found in Mound F, as one can now see—sign of masonry behind the well-mortared and lofty outer shaft. The probability however is, judging from the height of the mound, that the tomb was very similar to the one which I exposed in Mound E.

This second mound in the circumstances produced nothing of interest, but it was apparent that mortar had been used in its construction, as well as date-tree trunks and pieces of matting.

Captain Durand's discoveries were published in an article, mention being at the same time made of a black stone discovered during the same sojourn in Bahrain bearing a "brief Hieratic-Babylonian inscription." The connection of this stone, however, with the construction of the tumuli seems at present to be very doubtful.

The next attempt at elucidating the mystery of the tombs was made by some officers of H.M.S. "Sphinx" a few years later.<sup>2</sup>

I have not been able to ascertain which mounds they examined, but suspect that either one or both of those marked O and P in the accompanying plan may be the tumuli in question.

In the spring of 1889, Bahrain was visited by Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, who had evidently been attracted by the account of Captain Durand's experiences. They opened one of the largest mounds, B, and were so fortunate as to find the tomb inside, which consisted of two stories, in good condition, though the perishable contents were almost past the stage of recognition. In the upper chamber the Bents found fragments of ivory, circular boxes, pendants with holes for suspension, the torso of a small statue, the hoof of a bull fixed on to a pedestal (also in ivory) the foot of another little statue, and various fragments of utensils—pieces of pottery, coarse and unglazed, bits of ostrich shells, coloured and scratched with rough patterns in bands, and small shapeless pieces of oxidised metal. The whole of the *debris* with which the floor was covered, and which must have fallen from the un-mortared sides and roof, was intermingled with the tiny bones of the periton. The bones of a large animal, believed to be a horse, were also found in this chamber. In the lower chamber human bones were found, and the walls appeared to have been draped with tapestry suspended from wooden pegs (the size of tent-pegs) all round, including the four recesses.

The Bents then looked on to a smaller mound C; but apparently they did not clear out the *debris* which had filled up the tomb to a height of 4 or 5 feet, as a contemporary witness informs me that they crawled in on hands and knees to look round—they were just able to examine the peg-holes referred to in their account—and then desisted from their investigation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, N. S. (1880) ; pp. 180 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vide the statement of Mr. Cecil H. Smith of the British Museum, reported on page 18 of the Proceedings at the Royal Geographical Society for January 1890 (Volume XII, No. 1, New Monthly Series).

<sup>4</sup> The story of the proceedings was told by Mr. Bent before the Royal Geographical Society in November 1889 (published in the quarterly for January 1890), and the same account practically was re-narrated by Mrs. Bent in "Southern Arabia," published by her in 1900 after her husband's death.

In September 1903 a Belgian gentleman, M. A. Jouanna, paid a brief visit to Bahrain and obtained permission from the Chief of Bahrain, through the good offices of Mr. J. C. Gaskin, the Local British Political Officer, to open one mound. He selected the one marked D, and succeeded in tunnelling into the interior making his entry through one of the corner recesses. He found, I understand, only a few bones and pieces of pottery, and made no attempt to examine any more.

### Result of the latest enterprise.

In 1904 the Archaeological Department of the Government of India turned their attention to this ancient site, the Director General himself at first proposing to visit Bahrain with a view to settling, if possible, the question of the origin of the necropolis. Subsequently, however, this arrangement was revised, and a sum of Rs. 1,600 was placed by the Government of India at my disposal.

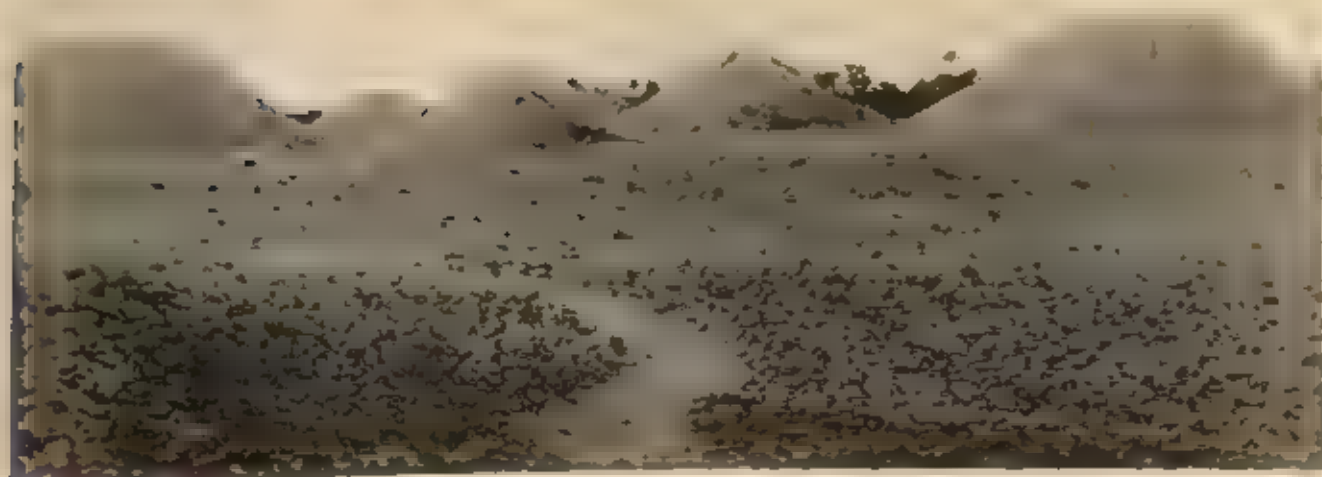
I commenced work in the field on the 1st October 1906, employing Persian coolies, as the villagers of 'Al' would not leave their fields at that time of year nor consent to undertake any unnecessary work on account of the strictness of their adherence to the fast in the month of Ramadhan; moreover they seemed to entertain considerable awe about working on the larger mounds. The daily wage paid was 11½ annas, a much higher rate than would have been necessary a few years previously, owing to the general rise in prices which has occurred in the Islands. To this rate allowance was, of course, made for the fact that the coolies had to import their own food from the town, several miles away. About six weeks later, finding that the Persians did not improve in work, although the Ramadhan month had passed away, I replaced some by about a dozen vagrant Pathans and Pangulas who had become stranded in the Islands in the course of their journeys to the holy places of Islam. Later, I was able to substitute villagers from 'Al' for the remaining Persians, and though these people worked fairly keenly with the example of the Indians continually before them, and for the same rate of pay which I found it impossible to reduce, they came nowhere near the high standard of excellence in endurance and courage exhibited by the Pathans in particular. To the immediate supervision of the coolies I had three sepoy's of the Native Infantry escort continually on duty, as well as the non-commissioned officer in charge of my camp. A clerical member of my office staff also was always on the spot to direct the work generally in accordance with my instructions, and I myself slept almost every other night in the camp, devoting alternately some hours of either the morning or the evening to inspection and directing the work. Practically the only days when I was entirely absent from the scene were the weekly mail days, when my presence was necessary at Manama, the head-quarters of the Agency. My supervising assistants all displayed the greatest interest and zeal and my thanks are heartily accorded to Messrs. D. X. Labo and Sayed Muhrumad Ibrahim-l-Hajj for their devotion to work which was dull and monotonous at times and was outside and additional to the ordinary sphere of their official duties.

Our excavations for the year were concluded on the 31st March 1907. We had then opened out seven tombs of large or medium size and twenty-five small tombs of a simpler type. I had also spent a little labour on clearing out, sufficient for

## EXCAVATIONS AT BAHRAIN



(a) THE LARGE MOUNDS NEAR ALI, FROM SOUTH-WEST.



(b) MOUNDS A, M, C. (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT);  
E AND O. IN FOREGROUND





purposes of plan-making, the two tombs opened by the Bents in 1889, which had become obscured by the cuttings having gradually fallen in at the entrance to the tombs.

Our money was then all expended and the weather had become almost too hot for comfort in camp.

A brief description is now given of each individual mound of interest in the collection near Ah, a map of which was kindly prepared for me by Lieutenant Commander W. H. Se, R. N., of H. M. S. "Redbreast," the brevity of whose stay in this neighbourhood unfortunately deprived me of much useful and valuable advice.

The lettering of the mounds, from A to M, I have made chronologically according to the dates of their excavations. The thick lines appearing on nine of the mounds indicate the lie of the tombs inside. It will be noticed that the doors of seven face the least bit south of west.

The door of *Mound E* points a few degrees north of west, while that of *Mound D* faces only 36 degrees west of south, differing very considerably from all the other mounds exposed, in this respect.

*Mound A* is the second and larger one opened by Captain Durand. I have failed to discover the site of his smaller mound, which he seems to have pulled to pieces. Captain Durand estimated the height of *Mound A* at 15 feet which seems to be rather excessive.

The outer circular containing wall was about 10 feet high. This wall was connected with the corner of the tomb by a passage which in its latter part was mortared to a great height (30 feet?). It seems therefore that the entrance to the tomb was not down a shaft as in the case of *Mounds C, E, H, and I*, but horizontally through a glorified form of the passage found in *Mounds B, F, G, etc.*

*Mound B* is the Bents' larger excavation. It presents now a most calamitated external appearance, owing to various experimental cuttings made on all its sides.

The Bents state the height of the lower chamber to be 6 feet 7 inches, whereas this is really the height of the doorway above the threshold. The chamber itself averages about two feet more, including two or three inches of solid mortar on the rocky floor. The interstices in the lower ceiling were also filled with mortar from below. (Fig. 2.)

*Mound C* is the Bents' smaller one. The remarkable feature of the tomb here is that its floor is some 7 feet below the limestone bed-rock all around. Without pulling the whole mound to pieces, it would be difficult to say whether the hollow was natural or artificial. It may, however, be that stone had been previously quarried from the site for the construction of one of the adjoining large mounds, and that the builder of C had either some special reasons for wishing to insert his tomb here in spite of the lowness of the surface, or that he recognized in advance of his fellows the advantage gained in permanency and solidity from using the natural rock as a background and support for his walls. From outside, the mound appears quite a small one, and in fact the tomb is the smallest in the immediate vicinity, but the cone of earth still rises 17 feet above the roof of the tomb, so that, if the floor had been level with the ground, a very much greater volume of earth would have been required to cover the circumference of the base. With a view to taking the

measurements of this tomb, I caused all the rubble that the Boats had left untouched to be taken out. We found fragments of two interesting earthen vessels

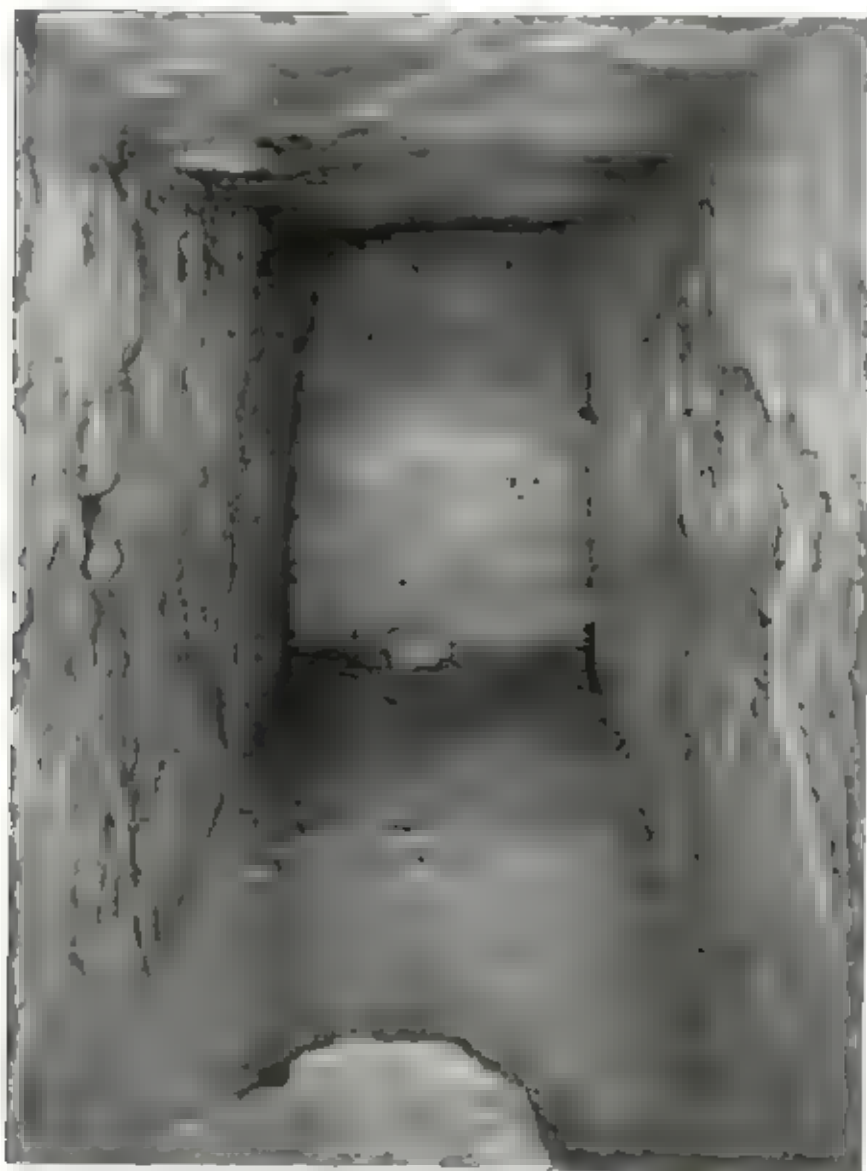


Fig. 2. Interior of Mound B (down the chimney).

evidently dating from the time when the tomb was constructed. One was a red earthen pot with rounded bottom, perhaps 60 inches in greatest circumference and having a broad black circular line near its neck.

The other of yellow clay had a narrow mouth closed by a membrane of clay through which twenty-four holes were made, each about as big as would be made with a lead pencil. See the fragment on the extreme left in the illustration of earthen pots (fig. 7). Earthen *Kazas* are so treated at the present day so that the water may give a gurgling sound when poured out. The depth of the bottom of this tomb below the surrounding surface was definitely ascertained for me by Mr. R. L. Laffère of the Public Works Department, to whom I am also indebted for other assistance and advice in the preparation of the plans.

*Mound D* was opened by M. Jorann in 1903. Attention has already been called to the remarkable difference in the plan of the tomb enclosure as regards cardinal direction. I may add that the excavator was perhaps lucky to escape contact with the shaft wall which possibly protects the entrance. I have not attempted to ascertain whether any stone rings or circles occur under the slopes. It is curious fact that the probable position of the door is quite clearly suggested by a break in the rim of the considerable hollow on the top of the mound, and that this indication was ignored by M. Jorann in favour of the possibility of the tomb having its door fronting the west in the normal manner.

I personally would have always rejected this tomb as a suitable for experiment-ization, a result of the dip on the top. The excellence of its internal condition proves that the magnitude of the dip is not of great portend provided that a good run-off for rain-water exists somewhere in the rim.

*Mound E* was the first on which I set to work. It was selected mainly on account of its size and because it had never apparently been entered with by man since its construction. I fully expected to find from its hollow summit that the upper chamber had dropped in, but hoped that, if the roof-stones of the lower story or stories were anything like those found by the Beris in *Mound B*, the latter compartments would still be undisturbed. In the result we found that the ceiling of the lofty lower chamber had not contained stone slabs at all, the width of the span having evidently been too great for the constructors to bridge by the usual method of stone roofing. I commenced work by marking out a trench, 5 feet wide, from the summit to the bottom of the mound on its western slope. Gangs of five coolies were placed at intervals along this line to cut down simultaneously through the surface. After the first two days we had discovered the existence of the south and west walls of the outer square shaft as well as the angle of the door, the circular ring of cube-stones, and the top of the tremendous conglomeration of rough stones near the base of the mound. I then transferred some of the cooly gangs and set them to cutting horizontally across the top of the mound down to the roof of the upper chamber, while another gang excavated the wall-enclosed shaft outside the door. The first party at length came upon the roof-stones at the eastern end of the tomb *in situ*, and also discovered the slabs over the four side-recesses, which by sound we judged to be clear of earth. The roof of the main upper chamber we saw had fallen in. At this stage we recognized that our labour in digging out the passage would be much facilitated by the cutting away entirely of the northern half of the summit of the mound. This accordingly was next done though it proved to be rather a lengthy job. The flat surface obtained was very useful when we came to hauling out the roof-stones which we found at all angles and depths embedded in earth in the main chamber, and the workmen who were put on to shunting earth were at the same time conveniently situated for the basket carriers to reach and the supervisors to watch. In the meanwhile the southern half of the square shaft had been cleared of earth from top to bottom, and by the time that the coolies working on the inner side of the tomb had come down to the floor of the side-recesses, we were able to recognize that the floor of the upper chamber must have been formed of a perishable material, as wide gaps appeared on

each side of the doorway, filled only with earth, where the roof-slabs should have been. The outer shaft only descends 12 feet below the height of the ceiling, while the room inside is 18 feet high. I was rather misled, by my ignorance of the fact, about the extent of the labour involved in emptying out the tomb, but at the same time I felt that, if any inscriptions existed within these mounds, their discovery might best be hoped for in the largest buildings, besides which other interesting articles of interest might also conceivably have been found. I persevered therefore in excavating down to the floor, and hope that, in spite of the non-discovery of any articles of intrinsic or archaeological value, the mere exposure of the whole plan of the tomb (to all intents and purposes, as I believe) will sufficiently repay the cost involved.

I made external cuttings on the north and west sides to prove as cheaply as possible that no additional constructions exist, and I have no doubt that on the southern side of the main chamber there is a single-storied flanking passage corresponding to the one on the north. These flank passages and the elongation at the east end occur only in this mound amongst those opened. I am inclined to think that the flank passages also occur in *Mound N*, which has not been exposed, but is referred to by both Captain Durand and Mr. Bent. A curious problem has arisen in regard to the western wall of the flanking (northern) passage or chamber. This wall has clearly been built up at a date subsequent to the construction of the other three sides. All the latter show a good deal of mortar, carefully filling in the crevices between the comparatively large stones as well as their main external irregularities, in a very similar fashion to the work done on the central chamber. The fourth (western) wall, however, contains rather smaller stones with a much larger admixture of mortar smeared at first equally on both sides (viz., east and west) up to a height of only 8 feet, while the rest of the wall has been built up to the ceiling of the recess entirely from the outer side (the corner recess) without any regard to the regular appearance of the wall on its inner side. At first sight it undoubtedly appears that this wall was only filled up at some later date than the construction of the building, but then the question arises how the ceiling could have been placed over the corner recess. These ceilings, at all the four 10 foot recesses, consist of two sand-stone slabs each, and it is hard to believe that one of these stones rested only on two walls and the corner of a third detached one, bridging two passages, with another wall built up on its eastern edge ten feet higher to support the upper-story slab-stone over the recess. Such, however, I think must have been the case so that it is not surprising that in the course of our excavations, the four slab-stones forming the upper and lower ceilings and the wall in question (of the upper story only) should have fallen in.

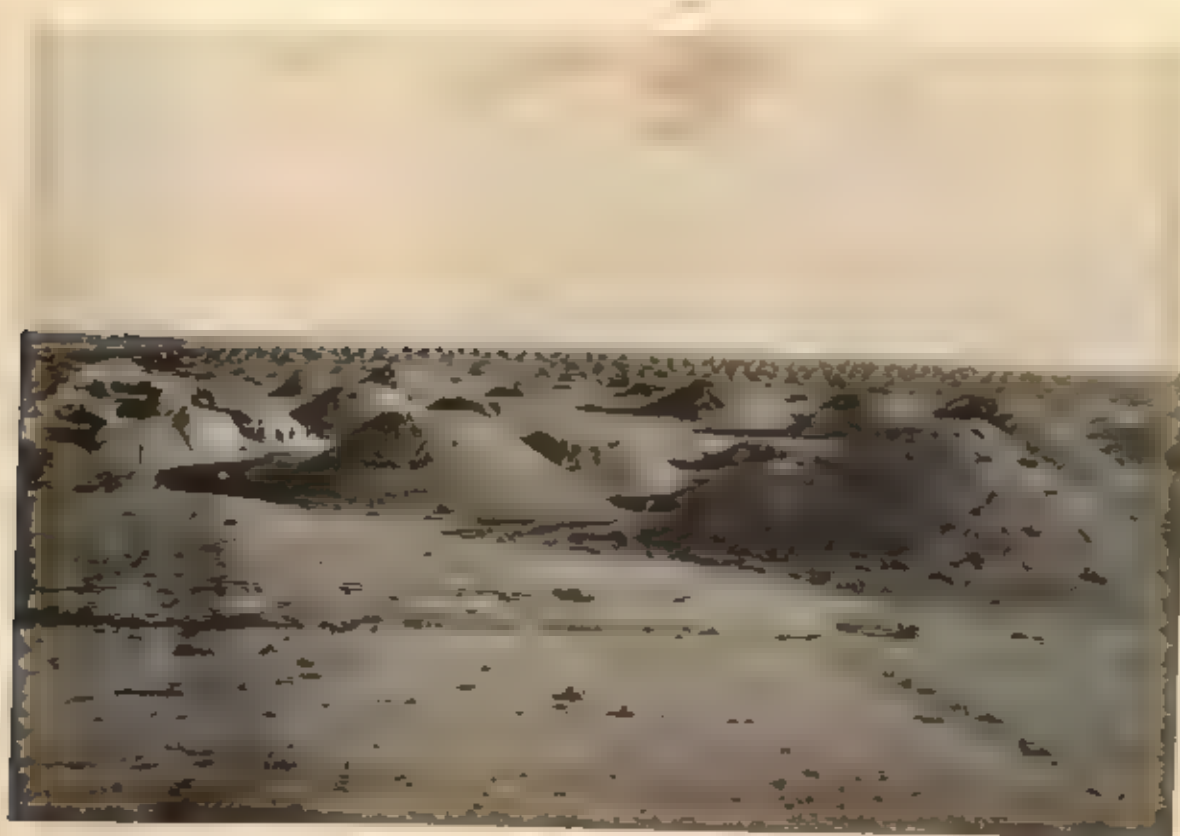
The general plan of constructing this tomb seems to have been as follows:—All the earth was first scraped off the bed-rock which is limestone, sometimes more nearly resembling coral. A thick bed of about 6 inches of mortar was then laid down wherever stone was to be set, as well as all over the enclosed floors. Large stones were then fixed as the base of the walls and set with mortar, great attention being paid to the smoothness of the inside and lateral surfaces, while none was given to the length and irregularity of the outer ends. Earth at the same time was thrown



EXCAVATIONS AT BAHRAIN



a) MOUNDS E. AND D. FROM SOUTH-EAST.



b) MOUNDS E. M. AND L. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT  
IN FOREGROUND.



all round the building and pressed in, up to the limits of the surrounding wall. The upper tiers of wall-stones were torn down, and wherever projecting behind the ones below, they would also rest partly on the earth which was continually being heaped up outside and pressed against the walls. The workmen would thus be always working on a more or less flat surface round the tomb which would facilitate the heaving up and placing in position of the wall-stones and roof-slabs. In this manner the earth would be piled up to the level of the roof of the tomb and perhaps in some cases a few feet higher while the outer perpendicular shaft or the horizontal walled passage, as the case might be in other tombs, would keep the earth from blocking the doorway of the tomb. In the case of the oldest and tombs the shaft would be found generally more convenient; I have little doubt that it contained a wooden platform, for which the ledges of *Mounds E, H, and I* are evidently intended, on a level with the upper floor, as well as a ladder or stair-case down to the ground. In the case of *Mound E* there must also have been a wooden stair-case down into the bottom of the tomb from the door-threshold. Visitors, who have looked over the larger tombs with me have frequently suggested that they must have also been built temporarily for residential purposes. It seems quite possible that the wealthy person who constructed one of these edifices may have also had a light castle-like structure similar to the Turkish of the present day on the flat top of his mound for ordinary occupation, using the solid lower chambers as a winter bed-room and the upper, perhaps, as a summer one until his death. After this event, the master of the tomb would invariably be interred in the lower chamber, with a number of earthen pots, containing food and drink and some slaughtered or unslaughtered fowls, inside, while the upper chamber would also contain earthen vessels, ornaments, best possibly broken up. Sacrifices were also undoubtedly made on the roof. The door of each chamber of the tomb having been closed up with large stones stretching from the threshold to the ceiling, earth would be filled into the passage or shaft (after the removal of the woodwork, I fancy) and then the cone of earth would be raised up as high as possible. The fact that the earth in the passage was not probably rammed down very hard seems to account for the common depression which marks the position of the door, though in many cases this falling away of earth commences from beyond and across the centre of the tomb.

In *Mound E* we found the white (pale red), bones of a man, his teeth indicating considerable age, embedded in the earth about 5 feet above the floor of the upper south-eastern recess close to the main passage. It seems almost certain that these bones must have fallen through the roof, the man was presumably therefore a slave who had been sacrificed. The lower chamber and recesses contained a number of



Fig. 2. Finger ring and two beads

in *Mound E* consisted only of the fragments of about twenty coarse earthen vessels

some of which seem to have been thrown, broken, on to the mound as rubbish. Two or three came out of the northern flanking chamber, while the others had probably dropped from the upper story. Only two leads but nothing else of value were found, though the earth taken from the tomb itself was sifted with great care.

The *raison d'être* of the circular ring of stones which occurs half-way up the slope of every mound of importance has also somewhat puzzled me. I am inclined to think that they were for external ornament, in which case we can estimate roughly by comparison with the other circles at the bottom of the mound how much the height has diminished in the course of ages.

*Mounds F* and *G* were started on by me, while the work on *E* was still continuing. *Mound P* had a slightly convex top, while *G* had the best cone of all the mounds I have seen. I thought, however, that it would at least contain a very small tomb, and even doubted its being anything but a natural mound of earth.

Both the tombs proved to be practically full of rubble and earth, due, I think to the much softer soil with which they had been covered. The ground all around, and in fact all the land to the north of the 'Aqār'ya-Mumma road has been under cultivation in comparatively recent times, though the soil lies only 6 to 12 inches above the rock, while south of this road the ascent, towards Rūc, at once begins, and lichen-covered flints preponderate over the sand.

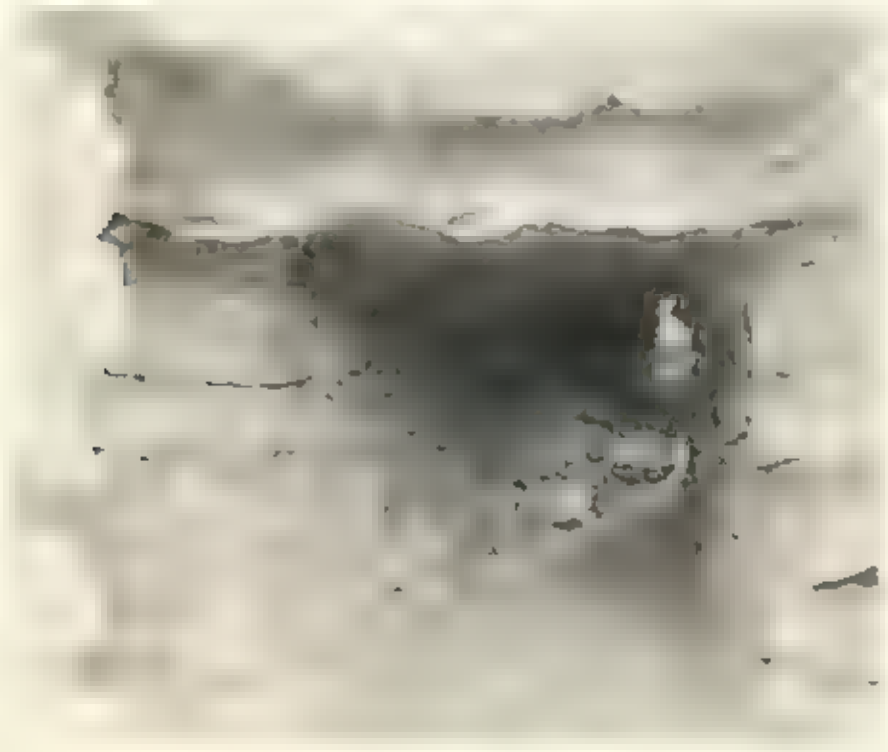
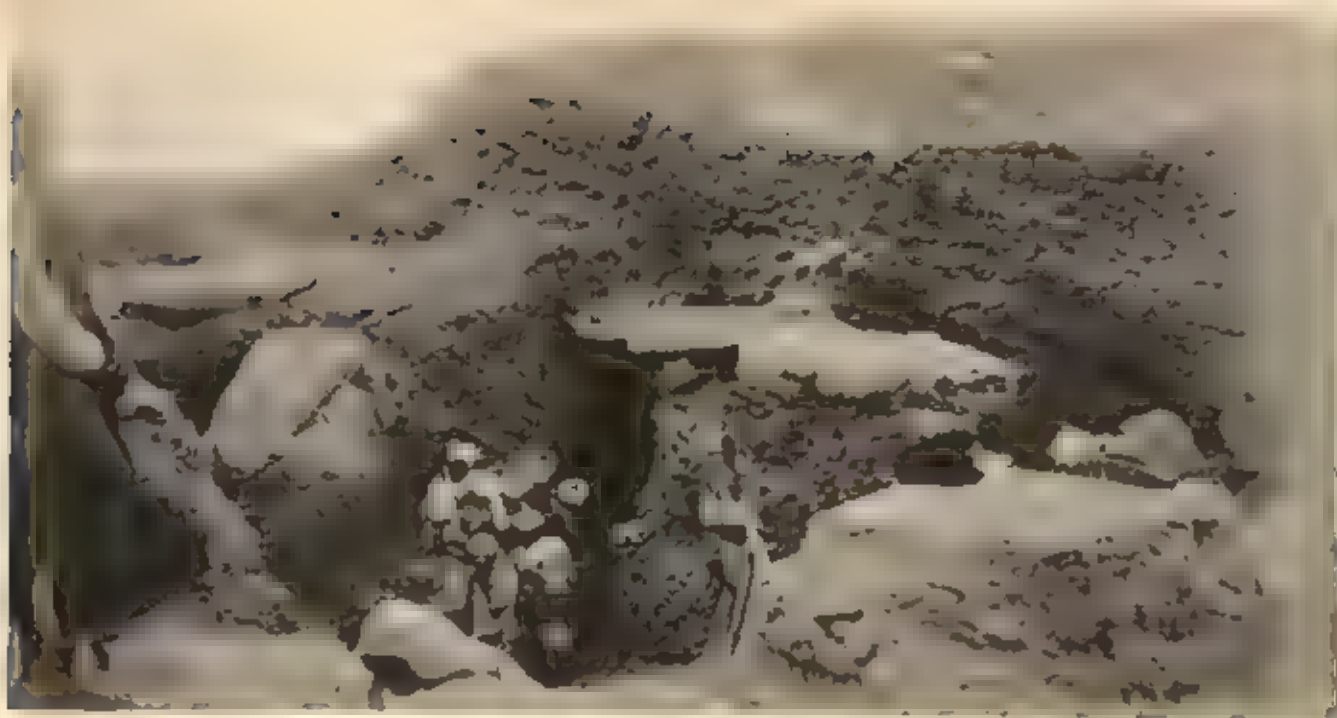
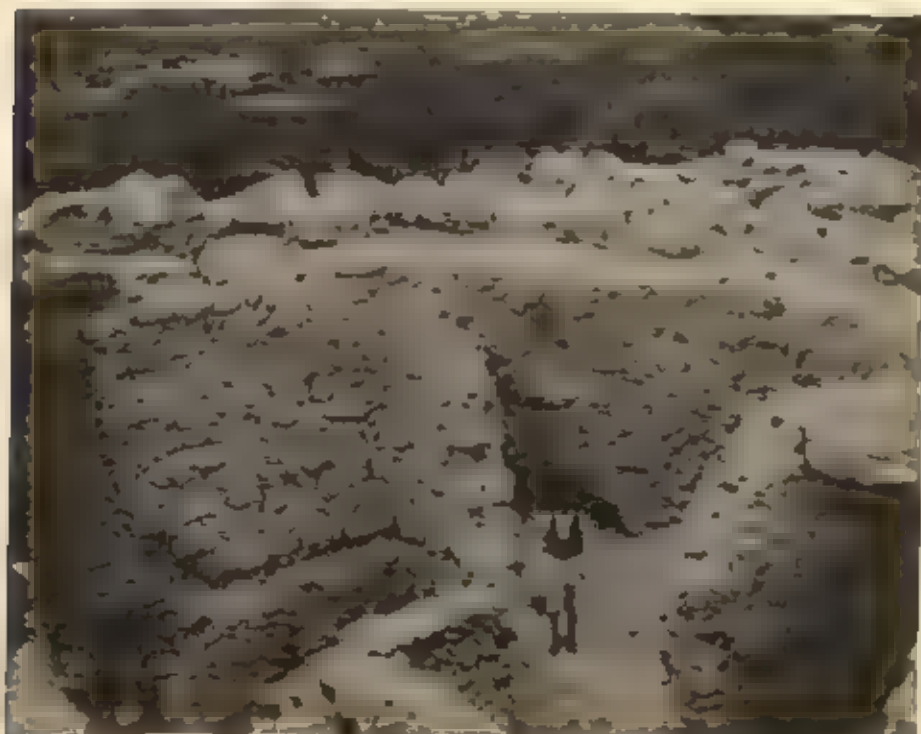


Fig. 4. Interior of Mound G.

In *Mound F* one of the roof stones had fallen perpendicularly to the floor, but in neither case were my Pathan coolies deterred from burrowing in, and in fact the most ornamental pieces of pottery, as well as a corrugated gold ring and some frag-



(a) MOUND E. IN THE COURSE OF EXCAVATION



(b) TOMB IN MOUND E. FROM SOUTH EAST





ments of a piece of black stoneware were extracted by sifting from these two tombs. Whilst burrowing down and searching for the roof of *Mound F* we came across the bones of a large, possibly bovine, animal just over the roof, and in the case of *Mound G* the skull of a cat fell through a chink in the roof of a recess with a quantity of earth, after a heavy fall of rain about a month after I had ceased working on the mound.

At this stage of my work I almost despaired of finding any tombs empty. I determined, however, to make one more trial and selected *Mound H*; here I contrived to hit upon the surface ground over the shaft with the most extraordinary accuracy and luck, and we cleared out all the earth as well as the little *debris* inside the chambers and completed the shuffling work for a total cost of about R25. In this tomb the bones of a man were found in the central passage. He seems to have been placed flat on his back with head to the westward. The tomb had niches only at the east end, and the wall which blocked the doorway was placed at a curious distance from the outside. There are peg-holes along the sides of this tomb, and the wall at the door actually covers up one of these holes. The recesses each contained the fragments of an earthen pot, one with filtered mouth-piece, similar to the yellow one taken from *Mound C* already mentioned and the other of coarse make and red colour, which seems to have contained some kind of fat, perhaps ghee. It is a remarkable fact that neither in this tomb nor in any of the next three which we opened could we discover sufficient fragments of any pot to warrant the belief that these vessels had been put in unbroken. The thick dust on the floors was all carefully sifted for the solution of this question but the result was negative, though I hesitate to say that all the pots must have been fragmentary before being deposited, in view of the fact that we afterwards found in some smaller tombs clear signs that vessels in good condition were without a doubt also enclosed.

*Mounds I, J and K* were opened in quick succession, though not quite so cheaply as *Mound H*, as the entrances were not so easy to find, and the sifting work was heavier. Two more broken yellow pots with pierced mouths were obtained, one of these being in a recess, upside down, i.e., with the rim on the floor. The upper half of a vase-like vessel was also not unlike from the fact that its colour—a bright scarlet—commenced to run profusely as soon as the fragments were placed in water.

In *Mound J* we found the only piece of ivory the character of which we could recognize, and an oxidized piece of metal, curved like a lyre, which may have been a hair ornament. The ivory fragment consisted of a leg of a bull attached apparently to a portion of its pedestal. The work, showing the cloven foot and the horny excrecence at the back of the fetlock, is quite true to nature and seems to indicate a high degree of talent in the sculptor. (Cf. Fig. 5.)



FIG. 5. Ivory leg of a bull.

At this stage, having completed the examination of seven mounds of the rarer, large variety, I determined to use up the rest of my money all at once on small mounds. I transferred my working party, therefore, into the midst of the closely packed tumuli through which the road to Western Rifa runs about a mile and a half from 'Al village. Here, at a cost of R5 to R10 per mound, we opened thirty-five tombs and sifted out their

contents in the course of a few weeks. Even here, in spite of the general family likeness of the tombs, there occurred slight differences in each individual grave. One or two had four embryonic side-niches; more had two only at the eastern end; some had only one, when it would be in the northeast corner, while others had no niches at all. As to the niches themselves, some would be made hollow up to the roof, while others would be topped by heavy stones at 18 to 24 inches above the floor. All the tombs in these little mound were approximately of the same size, 6 or 7 feet long, 3 or 4 feet wide and the same in height. A human skeleton in varying stages of decay was always discernible and though the amount of rubble inside the tomb

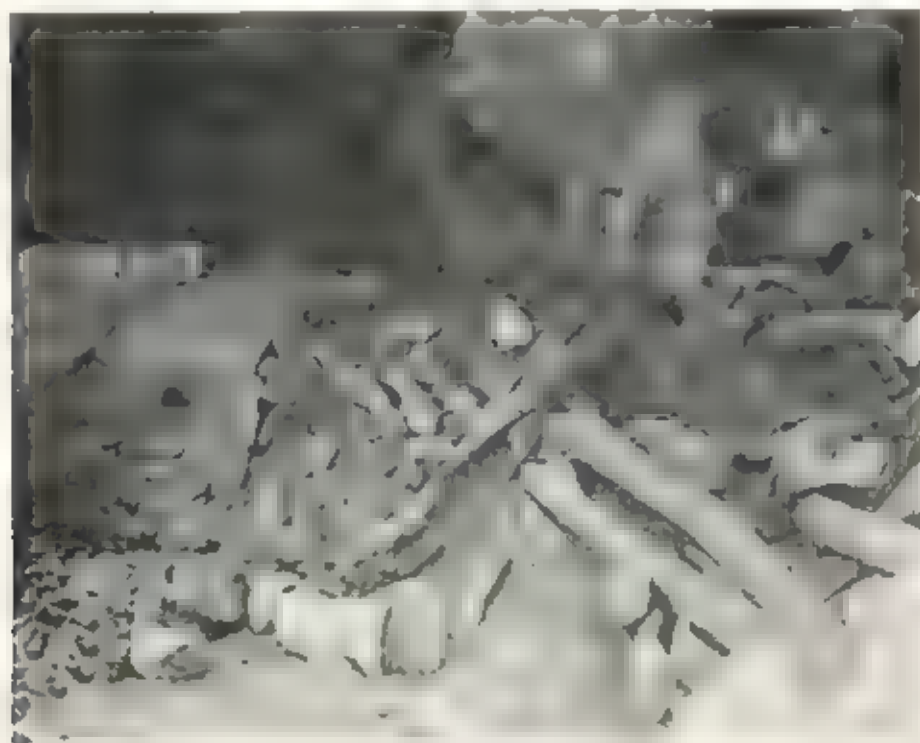


Fig. 6 Interior of small tomb

varied from practically *nil* to six inches in depth, we never noticed enough to indicate that the body had been buried under such a covering. The skeletons appeared in all sorts of attitudes; in one case, the arms and legs must have apparently been tied close to the body, and the corpse set down in a sitting position against the wall which filled the doorway, as we found the skull, vertebrae and limb bones all resting on the ground just inside the entrance. In two instances, we could recognize a handful of dates that had been placed close to one of the hands of the reclining corpse and one of these handfuls had so solid an appearance that the investigator was deceived into trying to pick up the fruit so carelessly that the whole crumbled into unrecognizable dust before our eyes. In the other case, the kernels of the fruit stones were still fairly hard, though the outer coverings had crumbled away. In all these small tombs there were invariably two earthen pots of different quantities and characters, one evidently being a receptacle for water and the other probably for some kind of food. About a dozen pots were obtained in good

preservation. A few fragments of oxidized metal were also taken out of these tombs but nothing else.

In the spring of 1908, for the gratification of some friends, I again resumed work amongst the larger mounds near 'Āli, and opened two, marked *L* and *M* on the map, at my own expense.

*Mound L* disclosed a double-storied tomb, the lower chamber being about 7 feet high, and the upper chamber only 3 feet. The fragments of two pots were obtained, one being of the ordinary fluted-mouth type, as well as the usual collection of small bones and fragments of ivory and metal. A feature of interest revealed by this tomb was that the corpse had evidently been interred under a pile of rubble in the central passage. This pile of flints and earth had been heaped

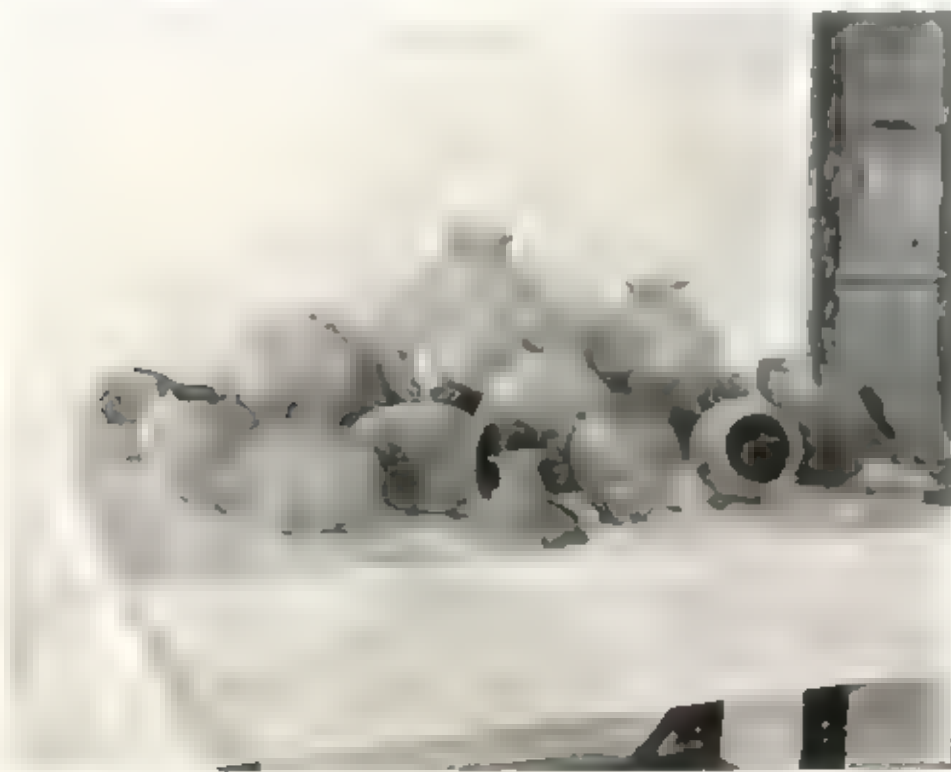


Fig. 7. Pottery from the tombs.

up right to the ceiling from which it sloped eastward and westward in quite natural gradients. The information, thus gained, that the ancient builders of these tombs sometimes covered their dead with earth, explains in some measure how the tombs of *Mounds C, F* and *G* and the upper chamber of *H* were found to contain so much rubble. In all these first-opened tombs the piles were highest against the eastern end, and in fact no recognizable human bones were found under any of them, as they probably had quickly decayed. Can it be possible that the corpses so treated were those of females?

*Mound M* had a single-storied tomb and produced fragments of three pots only. *Mirabile dictu*, however, the larger bones of a human right leg were found in the south-western niche, while the corresponding bones of the left leg, the big bones of the arms, and the whole skull were found in the north-western niche, the

intervening central passage, in which a few very decayed vertebrae were observed close to the latter niche, being 5 feet wide. The lower jaw had become separated by about a foot from the upper part of the skull, so it seems possible that some animals must have dragged the right leg so far away from the rest of the body, but as the bones showed no signs of injury, the affair appeared most mysterious to the two gentlemen, Captain White, I. M. S., and the Reverend P. J. Barny, who witnessed the opening of the tomb, as well as to myself.

In concluding this Report, I must state that the field of large mounds near 'Adi has now been practically worked out, as the tumulus immediately north of O and the three smaller mounds south-west of A are the only ones north of the Burg-Manama road which can possibly repay excavation.

*Mound N* is the tumulus which both Captain Durand and the Bents mention having crept into, before commencing work elsewhere.

*Mound O* shows a cutting made horizontally across its summit in fairly recent times from east to west, exposing the sand-stone rock-stones in disorder. In my opinion, this mound is really the most interesting of all, from its position in the centre of four other mounds of nearly equal size. From the profusion of jumbled sand-stones now at its foot, it seems also that its base for a third of its height may have originally been faced with a sloping surface of slabs, to give distinction to its appearance. The village women of the present day believe firmly that this mound is the home of a Jin which has to be propitiated with offerings of eggs, etc., every week.

*Mound P* has indubitably been entered by explorers, who had learnt the correct way of procedure. They dug at once for the outer shaft, as I did myself in the case of *Mound H* and subsequent ones, and now that the four sides have been washed down gently in the course of years, so as to fill up the well entirely, it is impossible to say whether they found the chambers intact or not.

I would suggest that, if the officers of the "Sphinx" were not the miners into this mound, it may be presumed, that the Portuguese, who had ample leisure to search for treasure here in the sixteenth century, were the operators in question.

South of the road, there are still, of course, a number of far-sized mounds, though perhaps very few of them contain undisturbed tombs, the opening of which may still interest future investigators, and further back in the midst of the great field I would reckon that about 5 per cent. of the smaller mounds still cover undamaged tombs.

The number of tumuli in Bahrain, in my opinion, may be estimated at five or six figures, so there still remains plenty of scope for the energy of future generations of archaeologists, who will naturally be disappointed at the meagre results obtained up to date.

F. B. PRIDEAUX.

\* *Mound O* is the high mound shown in the foreground of plate XVIII (a), where it is erroneously indicated as *Mound G*.



## EXCAVATIONS AT BRĀHMANABAD—MANSURA, SIND.

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IN the Annual for 1903-4<sup>1</sup> I gave an account of the ancient site of Brāhmanabad in Sind, and expressed my opinion upon the identity of the same. In this article I simply intend to supplement that account with another instalment as the result of further exploration during the season, 1908-9.

I selected for excavation three or four spots, but soon retained these to two—one in the very centre of the ruins, close by the ancient mint site (W on plan), the other at the *thal* or tower a few hundred yards to the east of that and near the village (G on plan). In my former article I stated that there had been at least two cities upon the site and I tried to show that the first Arab capital in Sind, Mansūra, had been built upon the ruins of the old Hindu city, called by the Muhammedans Brāhmanabad. This my further excavations helped to confirm, and also shewed that there had been three distinct occupations.

On the first spot selected, in the middle of the ruins, I found pure white sand, without the admixture of any former remains, at a depth of about 8 feet from the present general surface of the ground. Upon this rests a layer, 2½ feet thick, of alluvial deposit, mixed with sand, in which no brickbats or other human remains are found; while above this, and up to the surface, is found a layer of earth full of brickbats, potsherds, bones, charcoal, ash and other indications of human habitation. The lines between the different layers are very sharp and distinct. It thus appears that an accumulation of river sand had overspread this part of the country to the depth of about 2½ feet before it was first occupied by settlers.

The uppermost walls and ruins of the third or last occupation were found to be very insignificant—the buildings being small, with very small rooms, and the walls being built almost entirely of brickbats, a whole brick being very seldom found. After clearing away these walls, and digging down a few feet, we came upon a series of heavy brick foundations, spaced at uniform distances apart, each measuring about 7 feet by 3 feet (See plate XXI). The shape suggests the possibility of each

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cousens first visited Dūlmahādhār in 1895-96, but it was not until excavated there in 1897. Cf. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4*, pp. 132 ff.; plates XLIV-L. [Ed.]

foundation having carried a pair of square pillars, such as we find frequently in old mosques; and the arrangement of the foundations farther indicates the plan of a very large mosque, having its back, as usual, towards the west. Portions of what appears to be the end or north wall of the mosque were also laid bare. The whole of the north row of five pier foundations was found, and the whole or parts of three others in the second and third row was excavated. Beyond this, southwards, the ground was opened up at two places, shown in the plan, but no foundations were discovered, nor any fragments of brick to speak of, the whole area having apparently been denuded of material for the building of the upper town.



Fig. 1. BBB, Foundations. A. Brick drain. C. Well.

Running diagonally across under these foundations, was found a drain, but it of the largest bricks measuring  $16\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ . In the foundations, just described, the bricks, in great part, measure  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ . Connected with this drain were found pear-shaped libation slabs, or what appears to be such (marked BB on the plan). These are flat baked clay slabs with a low rim round them, and a pointed spout leading, in one case direct, and in the other through six-inch earthen pipes, into the brick drain. The first idea that occurred to me was that they might be bathing places, but the width of the slab, about 2' 4", is too small for this, for all the used water would splash off over the edges and not into it, and the rim is too low. I am, therefore, inclined to think they held some object which was periodically bathed, such as an image for worship. Had they a hole in the centre, they might have been taken for the *yōnts* of *Hōgas*. They, and the drain, were most likely connected with

작성 일자: 2022. 12. 28

1. *There is a...*
2. *There is a...*
3. *There is a...*
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15. *There is a...*
16. *There is a...*
17. *There is a...*
18. *There is a...*
19. *There is a...*
20. *There is a...*

學工 四 五 六 七 八 九 十

[illegible][illegible]
$$\frac{d}{dt} \int_{\Omega} \rho \, dx = 0$$

2014.11.14  
 2014.11.14

田舎の風景  
 山と川と田舎

## PLAN OF

BRĀHMANĀBĀD - MANŚURĀ

L. 1st 7th R. 4th









some Brahmanical or Buddhist place of worship, and I would fain believe that what I wrote in my Progress Report for the year ending the 30th June 1897, namely, "that if we succeed in finding the foundations of the principal Jāmi' Masjid at Mansūra, we shall find beneath it the foundation of the principal temple of Brāhmanābal," has been verified here. Found amongst these foundations, and in one place, were about two basketsful of the shreds of large broken earthenware pots with Persian or Arabic writing covering both the exterior and interior. This writing seems to be mostly composed of a name repeated over and over again, and it may be that the pots were similar to the Arabic talismanic cups, intended to contain water rendered specially efficacious as a healing agent by being brought in contact with the name of some revered old saint. Most of the pots shewn in the coloured illustration, in red and buff ware, were obtained in this excavation (Plate XXII). Upon one fragment's painted, it bears, a two-humped camel, not now seen in Sind so far as I am aware.

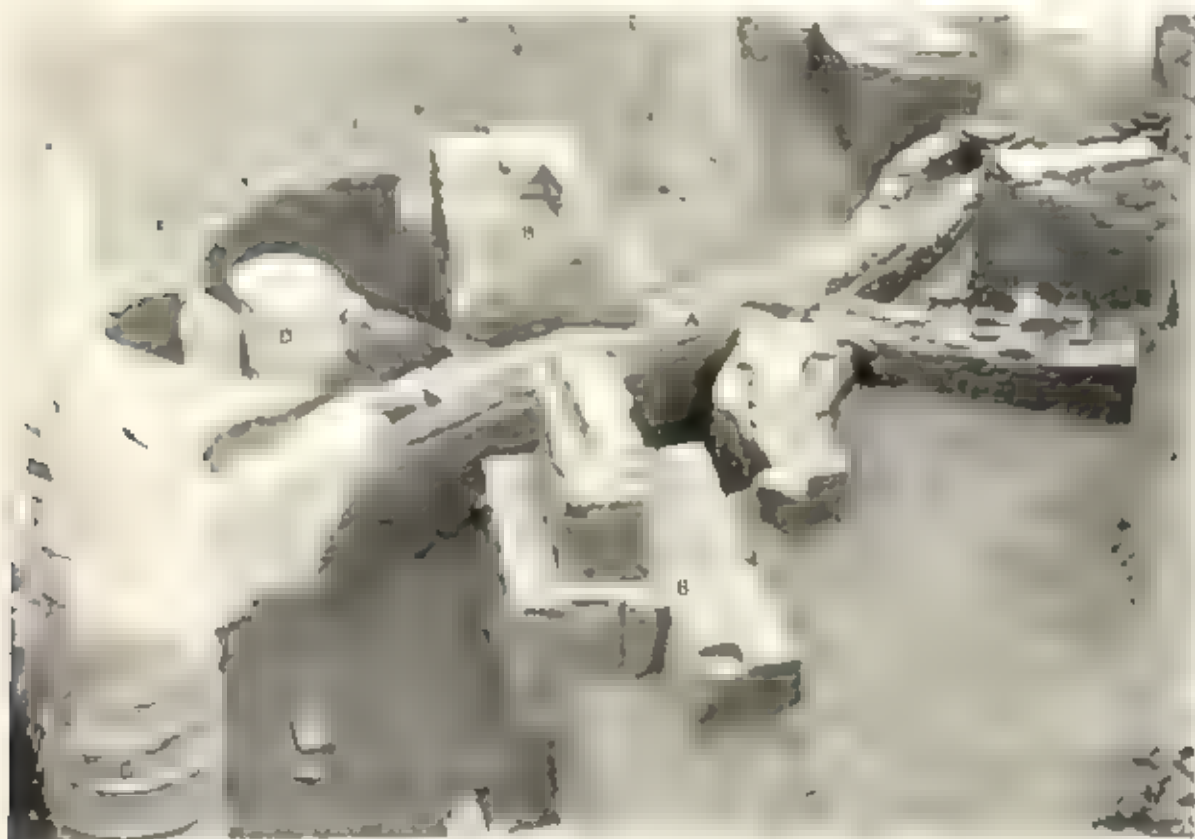


Fig. 2. A. Brick drain. B, C. Foundations. C. Well. D. Latrine shaft connected by pipe with drain A.

In my previous article on Brāhmanābal (p. 135) I described a narrow deep well composed of even sections of burnt earthenware placed one upon the other. In my excavations at this spot I discovered no less than seven, and found that they went down from the uppermost surface to the sand below the alluvial deposit (see C in Figs. 1 and 2). In most cases they were within the rooms of the houses and were not of public use. In sinking one of these wells they had cut through a six-inch water pipe. They seem to point to the fact of the drying up or change in the course

<sup>1</sup> Similar earthenware wells have been found on the ancient site of Śrāvastī. Cf. *A. S. B.* for 1907-8, p. 110 [Ed.]

of the river, during the last occupation, when each Louseholker had to sink his own well to provide this necessary of life, and, when these dried up, further occupation of the site became impossible.

Our investigations here made it very clear that to continue digging amongst the ruins would be practically waste of time, unless some special feature should disclose itself with promise of interesting results. It was found that the Arabs had used over again most of the material, which here meant bricks, of the older city, to



Fig. 3. Showing Elation slab, leading by pipe into main drain.

build their own, and had left few traces of the latter beneath their own buildings. Subsequent settlers did the same with the ruins of the Arab city, and, after digging out of the *débris* all the useable brick they could find, again built their later, and perhaps the latest, town. There is thus little below the surface of either Bahman-nābād or Mansūra to reward the excavator. With these ordinary brick-in-mau buildings there was no architecture to speak of, and no carved mouldings or statuary as is so often found on sites once occupied by stone buildings. Potsherds are abundant, but whole articles are exceedingly rare, and, as likely as not, a whole pot, when met with, is broken by the pick. Glassware is still rarer and up to now has been found in shapeless fragments. We were fortunate, however, in obtaining the only whole article in this material that has as yet come to light. It is a dainty little bowl of blue glass that seems to have been overlain with white or cream enamel. But most of this has peeled off, the flaking and disintegrating surface shewing those iridescent colours peculiar to mother-of-pearl. This is shewn full size on Plate XXIII.

BRAHMANABAD SIND



DIAMETER & INCHES

Wm. Cowper





PLATE XXIII



TEXTURED GLASS BOWL



The *dhōl* or tower, when we examined it, is close to the village on the east side of the ruins, and is the lastest pile still standing, being about 36 feet above the general ground level around. This tower-like mass of brickwork has puzzled everyone who has hitherto examined it. I had neither time nor funds to make any excavation around it on the occasion of my previous visit to Brāhmanābād. It had been supposed to be the site of King Dolor's palace, but an examination of the mound out of which it rises, shows that it was no part of a palace at all, nor was it a *bury* or bastion of a citadel which at one time I thought probable. Right in the middle or heart of the mound, on the top, on the east side of the tower, was found a square well in the solid brickwork seven feet square (B on plan and section, Plate XXIV). This had been partly filled up with debris from the fallen walls. The tower is but a portion of the walls of a building which surrounded the well. We excavated the south side of the basement of the mound and came upon a heavy square brick basement, 30 feet square, below ground level. The south side of this was unearthened, together with portions of the return walls along the east and west side, and, on plotting this independently of the central well, it was found that the latter occupied the exact centre of the square basement. Upon the west side of the tower is a small portion of the original brick facing showing a few lines of vertical offsets and recesses. On the plan these are shown at C and are symmetrically repeated in dotted lines around what was, most probably, the square plan of the original building.

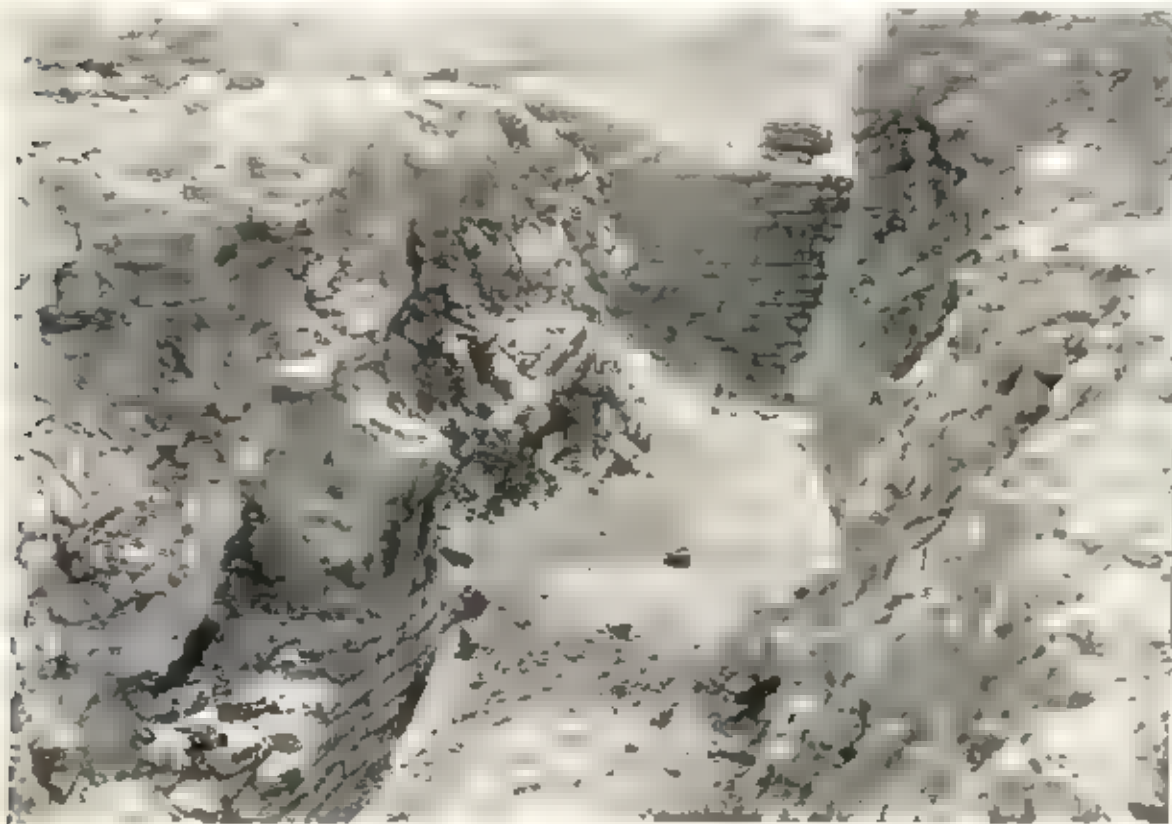


Fig. 4. Remains of brick arch at AA.

<sup>1</sup> Dolor is the last legendary Hindu king of Brāhmanābād, owing to whose wickedness the place was destroyed.

There seems to have been a passage from the north side, up a ramp or stair, the central well, reaching it upon the west side, and not entering straight into it. It is shewn in the plan and just below the letter B in the section. It would appear to have continued to ascend against the inner wall of the tower and to have wound spirally round the well, ascending over itself, but as a wooden staircase whose beam ends were fixed into the brick wall. In order to turn about, an arch of brick, set on edge, was thrown across at D, some portions of which still project from the walls (see A A in fig. 4). Mr. Bellasis says:—"In the time of the K.ubans, so much of the tower remained that the reigning prince ordered the demolition of the steps leading to the top, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of robbers, who used the tower as a place of observation, from which to watch travelers as a preliminary to plundering them. A large portion of the tower, with all the steps, was standing till about thirty-five years ago, when it fell, and has since remained in much the same state as it is now—a mere fragment."

Upon excavating the *dhutis* from the inside of the well we came upon a layer of fragments of curved bricks, some of which are shewn on the accompanying drawings placed loosely together, and with no attempt at design or arrangement. These were the only decorative bricks found in or about the *thut* and are of a material superior to the rest of the masonry. Immediately beneath this were found cross beams of wood, or what once was wood, for we found it in the state of powder filling up the spaces retained in the brick and mud masonry, except where the butt-ends were better preserved in the side walls. The inner central diagonal square between the beams, and the triangular corner spaces, were filled in with brickwork, while beneath this was solid brickwork set in mud.

The carved bricks were such as are usually found decorating Buddhist *stupas* in Sind, such as Thel Mar Bhoan, Dejar Ghingro, and Mirpur Khas; and the presence of these, coupled with the general plan of the ruin, as revealed by our excavation, leads me to believe it to be the ruin of a *stupa*, but one that has been rebuilt in later times. The carved bricks may have been some recovered from the ruin of the original *stupa*, and, as sacred material, placed in the floor of the chamber. Convinced that this was a Buddhist *thut*, and thinking that the relic might possibly have been buried in the heart of the masonry below the floor of this chamber, I excavated down through the solid brickwork 26 feet to virgin soil, but with no result. I therefore think it likely that the relic was preserved in the chamber above the wooden cross beams, and that access to it for worship was obtained by the passage leading up from the north.

Running under the south-west corner of the basement of the *thut* is a deep brick drain, most carefully constructed of very bad bricks of the largest size. It is 2 feet 2 inches deep by 1 foot 1 inch and is covered in at the top by bricks corbelled forward to meet. This covering is protected by a transverse arching of bricks (see drain A on plan). If the *thut* were a late reconstruction, as I think, it would account for this and the deviation in the style of the building from that of earlier *stupas*. Another circumstance which indicated later work is the fact that the whole of the basement below ground is built of brick and white lime mortar.



PLAN, SECTION AND ELEVATION OF TEKUL OR TOWER.





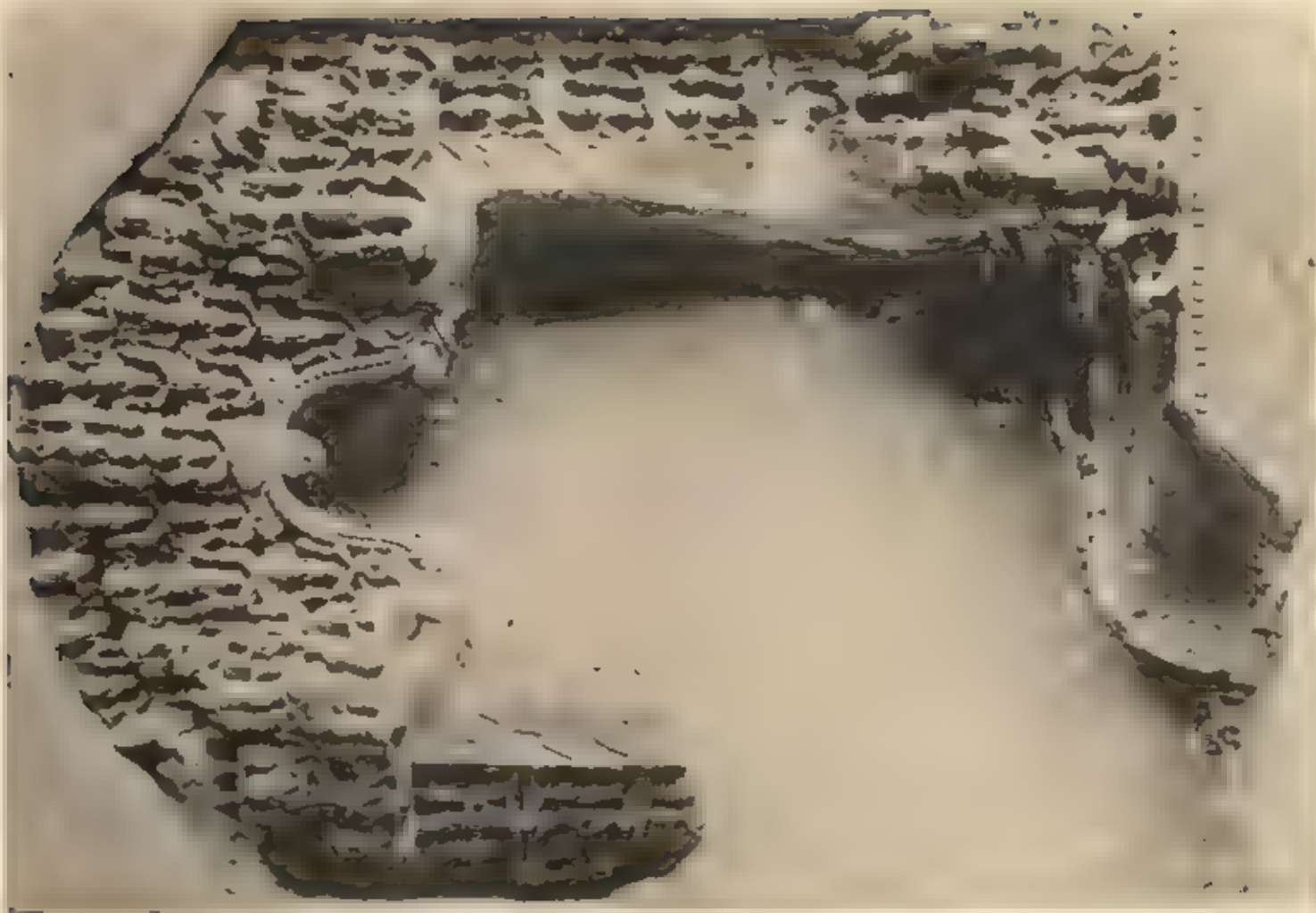


Fig. 1. A fragment of a stone object, possibly a fragment of a larger structure.



Fig. 2. A fragment of a stone object, possibly a fragment of a larger structure.



The bricks taken out of the bottom of the excavated well, in the middle of the *stūpa*, measured  $17" \times 10\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$  the largest found at Brahmanabad, and larger than those used in the tower above. It is thus possible that the core or stump of the old *stūpa* was retained and enveloped in the brickwork of the new.

Mr. Bellasis, in his account of his finds at Brahmanabad, professes to have discovered a set of chessmen. He writes as follows.

"In this house we were further repaid by finding nearly a complete set of ivory chessmen, one set white, the other black. The kings and queens are about three inches high, and the pawns about one; the other pieces of different intermediate heights. All have been made for use on a board with holes, for each piece has a peg in it, similar to chessmen used nowadays on board ship, to prevent the pieces being easily knocked down and the game disturbed. The ivory of these too is in a very decayed state, and very brittle; every particle of animal matter seemed completely exhausted, and the ivory reduced to a substance not unlike bone or chalk. Dice were also found, — some square cubes of ivory numbered exactly as dice used at the present day; others, the long dice, used by the natives to play the game of Punchweshee. The discovery of these chessmen is a curious fact; they are probably the oldest known set in existence, and tend to confirm Sir William Jones' assertion that chess was a game of Brahminical origin."

I am afraid these little articles of ivory must cease to exist as chessmen and must henceforth be considered mere little baublers or spindles of some kind of magic.

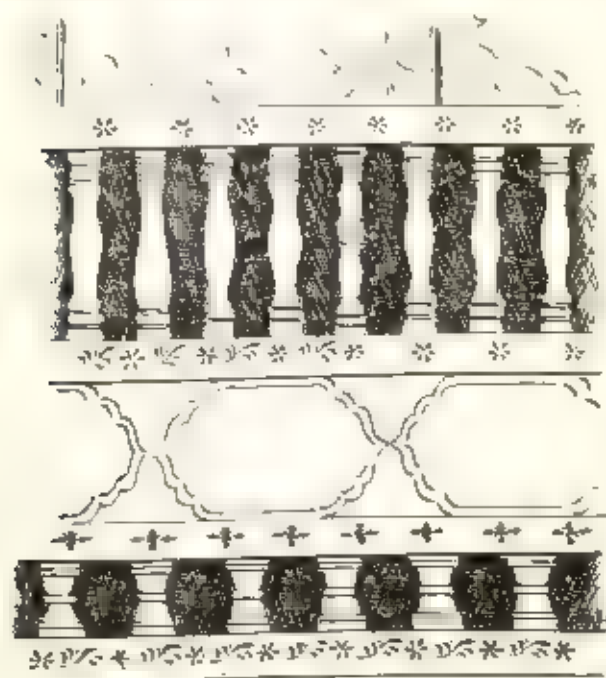


Fig. 5.

I have reproduced (Plate XXVI) two illustrations from the *Illustrated London News* of the 21st February, 1857, with the kind permission of the editor of that paper, in which are shewn these same articles, numbered 10. Had they been chessmen, with pegs to keep them steady, the pegs would not have been required at both top and bottom of the pieces. If we examine the two upper pieces on the right hand side of the illustration we find that one has a hole in the top for a peg, while the other has a peg in the top and a hole in the bottom for another peg. Both the upper pieces on the left hand side have holes in the top for pegs. When in London recently, I examined these pieces, which now

repose in the British Museum, and the use of them became so obvious that I wonder

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones' paper *On the Indian game of chess* was published in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 15, ff. The present argument does not, of course, tend to throw any doubt on the Indian origin of the game of chess which is sufficiently established by the Sanskrit name *chaturanga* game. The word, originally denoting the four members' journey, was together with the game, introduced into Persia where it became *shatrang* and from thence into Europe. The word came back to India, probably at the time of the Muhammadan conquest, cf. also Macdonell, *J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 1, 7 ff. (Ed)

Let Mr. Bellasis allow his fancy to run away with him so. In figure 5 I have drawn a piece of a smaller ivory rail adorning the back of an old settee in the palace at Mairat, and a restoration of his "chessmen" in fig. 6. I do not say



Fig. 6

my restoration is correct, but it shows the style of rail, the "pawns" being nothing but little knobs or finials along the top, with a larger one at the corners. In the balusters or spindles pegs were required both top and bottom, to fix them into the rails. A use is also shown for the pieces, No. 12 (Plate XXV la), said to be parts of the chessboard.<sup>2</sup>

I cannot so easily dispose of his dice, not having noticed them in the collection in the British Museum. In his illustration he shows but one piece, with little circles carved upon it. In fig. 7 I have given similarly marked pieces of ivory or bone, found by me, which are not dice but portions of a necklace, the

circles being mere ornament. The pieces are drilled for a cord to pass through.

Mr. Bellasis writes: "The followers of the prophet were such zealous image



Fig. 7

breakers, that in their invasions and conquests they rarely failed to mutilate every idol they saw. Among the Kafir Kotes near Jer-ruck, where some Buddhist remains were found highly ornamented with figures, not one escaped defacement,—even on a cornice, where the figure of Buddh was repeated again and again, the chisel of the iconoclast had taken

the trouble to deface every head. It may therefore be inferred from finding these figures entire, which he found at Brahmanabad, that Hinduism was still paramount in Brahmanabad at the time of its destruction by an earthquake, and that the tale of Mahamadan invasion had either barely reached so far into Sind or that the conquest was far from complete; and this is an incidental evidence which accords with history" [? tradition.]

The beautifully carved black stone ridge frame shown in Plate XXV was dug up by me on the site. It probably surrounded an image of Surya, who is frequently repeated among the multitude of these little images, but the main image was gone and the frame was broken into fragments. We also found numbers of pieces of broken images, some of a large one of Ganesa, a portion of the carved back

<sup>2</sup> *Technical Art Series*, 1903, Plate XIX.

So in writing the above I have thought of a 8 sided dice with spaces shown on it as I have seen them. Fig. 6 except that the smaller pieces hang as droops from the lower rail beneath the spindles.





REPRODUCED FROM THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS FEB. 24. 1887

2. IVORY BALUSTERS OF FURNITURE BAIL (SO CALLED CHESSMAN) ETC.,  
FOUND BY MR. BELLASIS IN 1864.



REPRODUCED FROM THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS FEB. 24. 1887

3. OBJECTS FOUND BY MR. BELLASIS IN 1864



of an *idol* or image sent, etc. I am afraid that Mr. Bullasis did not, after all, see the ruins of Brāhmanābād, that is, he did not dig deep enough to reach the Brāhmanābād layer. His conclusion as to the fate of the city was based upon the state in which he saw the uppermost ruins, those of a town or city subsequent even to Mansūra, unless those latest ruins are those of a Mansūra rebuilt after some great disaster.

Had the last city been overwhelmed by an earthquake, as Mr. Bullasis asserts, we should have found personal ornaments and other articles of value beneath the fallen walls which were supposed to have buried the inhabitants. We cleared away masses of walling, a fine object as they fell, showing that they had not been established since, but found no such objects. And it is in this uppermost layer that we find the abundance of bones, ash, broken pottery, and quantities of charcoal (remains of burnt beams) that led him to his conclusions.

It is in the lower layer that we found most of the beads and coins, especially the later Muhammadan coins. But there is a total absence of anything of value. Corrugated copper coins are plentiful, silver exceedingly rare, and gold are totally absent. Nor are there any domestic utensils of any value, though they surely must have had such in metal. There is little but broken pottery, and this of the very commonest kind. There is no doubt each layer was thoroughly exposed and ransacked by the successive attacking material by the settlers of each successive period.

The same amount of charcoal found in the uppermost ruins shows that there could not have been a general conflagration, but that houses here and there had been burnt—the charcoal being generally found in heaps in the same walls where beams have burnt back into their sockets. The houses, built with thick walls of brick, laid on mud, and, perhaps, plastered, and with low mud roofs, were not such as to burn themselves easily to a general conflagration. The amount of brick found on the site, in pulling out walls, covering, perhaps, two square miles, is so vast that we must conclude that in those days it was cheap enough for the poorest to use, and, hence, wood, or at least substantial brushwood, required to burn it, was plentiful. Everything points to this part of the country having been well watered and well wooded twelve hundred years ago.

Though excavation upon the site is interesting, that interest is not commensurate with the cost of digging, nor have this year's explorations yielded any results of special value beyond the confirmation of the fact of a Muhammadan city (Mansūra) overlying the remains of a Hindu city (Brāhmanābād.)

HENRY COLENS.

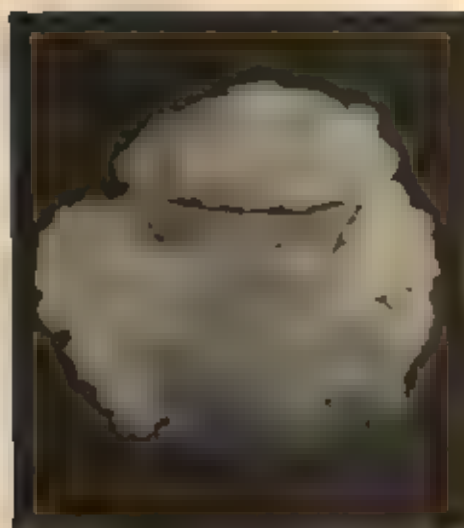
## EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAVATI.

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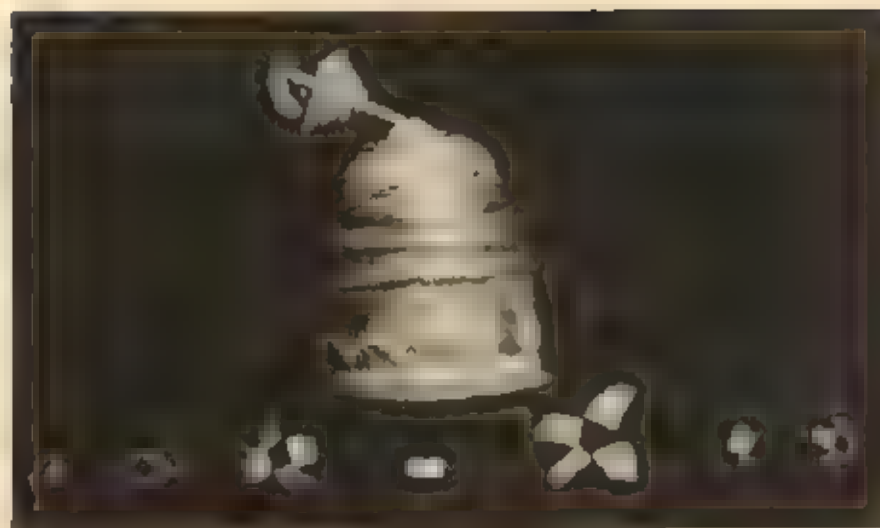
IN a former paper\* on Amaravati an account was given of some excavations at the site of the great *stupa* which chiefly consisted of an extension of the excavated space outside the four gates. This work has been continued, and further exploration has been made in the north and north-west of the mound at some distance from the centre of the *stupa* itself. These new excavations have yielded results in the form of walls which are interesting in some ways, but which are of a fragmentary and inconclusive nature, owing to the depredations of the villagers, who for many years had exploited the mound for bricks and other building material. Thus, though traces of walls have been everywhere met with, they are generally in a ruined condition. However, some discoveries of larger interest were made, and these will be briefly described. The majority of the marble sculptures uncovered are more or less fragmentary, and they may have been used either in the decoration of the great central *stupa*, or on some of the smaller surrounding ones of which various remnants have come to light. That these were adorned with marble sculptures, as is the case with the one previously discovered at the south gate is sufficiently evident, but where the sculptures are not found *in situ*, the difficulty in determining their original position will be obvious.

At the south gate excavations were made on the west side exactly opposite the small *stupa* alluded to above. Various traces of ruined foundations of brick walls were found, some of which were circular as well as a number of moulds, but all in a fragmentary condition. A discovery of some interest was made at this point, but here again the depredations of previous diggers had robbed it of much of its importance. When digging into the bank of earth a round object made of mortar, and about 6" in diameter, was found amongst the loose soil. It appeared at first to be a solid ball and nothing more, but when opened, it revealed a globular pottery receptacle and lid (Plate XXVII, fig. *a*), containing a gold reliquary in the form of a *dagoba* 3½ high, surmounted by an umbrella. This reliquary is made of very thin sheets of pure gold embossed with crude ornament. The dome lifts off the cylinder and inside were a small piece of bone and six flowers in thin leaf gold. (Plate

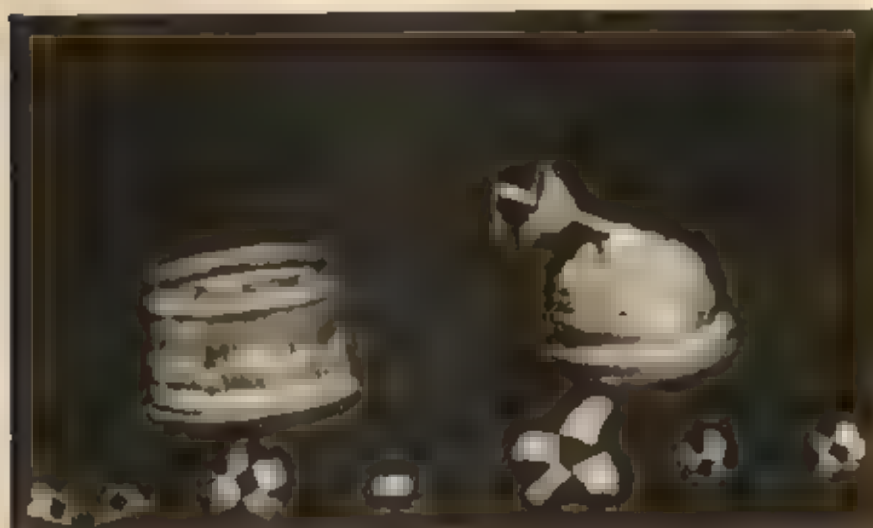
\* *J. A. S. B.* for 1905-6, pp. 116 ff.



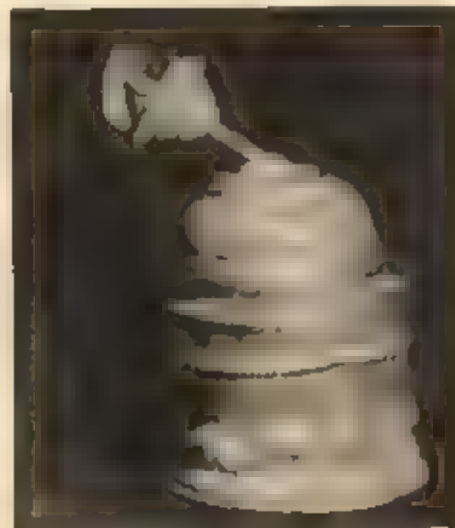
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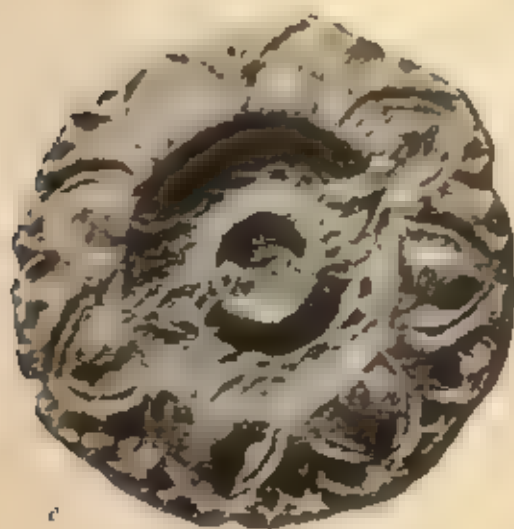
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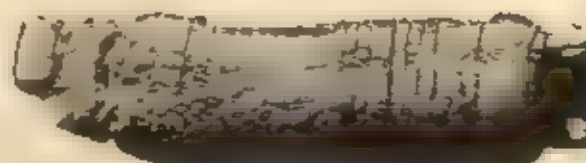
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XXVII, Fig. *b* illustrates the casket, bowl and flowers, Fig. *c* shows them with the lid and cylinder detached, and Fig. *d* is the casket before opening.

The only building yet discovered in the vicinity, in which this casket could have originally been placed, is the small *stupa* at the south gate from which it was probably thrown out after the dome was ruined. It will be remembered that only the upright side walls of this building now remain intact, the dome having entirely disappeared. As the relic-casket must originally have been placed at the base of this dome, as is usual in such monuments, it would undoubtedly have disappeared with it, had its nature not been concealed by the envelop of mortar. As it was, there was nothing about it to attract attention, so that it either fell out or was thrown out unnoticed, thus escaping destruction.



Fig. 1

Another discovery was also made at a distance of 350 feet due west from the centre of the *stupa* enclosure. It occurred in this way. Rumours reached me about the unearthing of some bronze images by some Vaidars in search of building material many years ago, but at first nothing definite could be ascertained. Persistent enquiry, however, resulted in an old man stating that those people, after having removed some bricks of which they were in search, found several bronze images, some of which were complete. It was at first proposed to use them as old metal, but on a consultation among them, superstitious fears as to what might occur prevailed, and the images were restored to the place where they had been found. It was difficult to ascertain where exactly this locality was, but at last it turned out to be near a *Margosa* tree at the spot I have mentioned. On digging here I found indeed

some bronze fragments a few feet beneath the surface, and below these again the cast bronze images with their bases detached as illustrated in Plate XXVIII, figs. *a-c* and *e-g*. These represent standing figures of Buddha and are doubtless contemporary with the great *stûpa*.

Figure *f* of Plate XXVII is a celt from the *stûpa* mound. Figure *d* of Plate XXVIII was found a short distance from the *stûpa* above noted.

At the extensions beyond the north and west gates several fragmentary marbles and traces of brick walls, all incomplete, were unearthed. Figure *e* of Plate XXVII is a marble lotus patera, 15" in diameter. The small ivory handle, 5½ inches in length, shown in figure *g* of the same plate was also found here. Various other marbles, fragmentary heads and small objects were also found, but mostly not in their original position. Selections of them appear in Plates XXIX-XXXI.

The brick foundations of another small *stûpa* were found 220 feet north-west of the centre of the main *stûpa* site. The diameter of this building is 21 feet, the walls being three feet in thickness, while two cross walls run through the centre. But the most interest attaching to it lies in its proximity to a group of seventeen neolithic pyramidal tombs, which stand adjacent to, and partly under, its north curtain (Figs. 1 and 2).

The walls themselves have been much damaged by diggers searching after bricks. But, fortunately, enough remains to determine the nature of the building and thereby afford some clue to the age of the tombs in question, a clue which the wander district or alluded to above has all but deprived us of. Hitherto nothing of a definite nature has been found in connection with neolithic tombs which could fix their date with certainty. They have generally been assigned to a period somewhere between the beginning of the Christian era, but this tentative dating has never been more than an assumption. Now, however, we are furnished with reliable data bearing on the problem, so that the discovery is of no little importance.

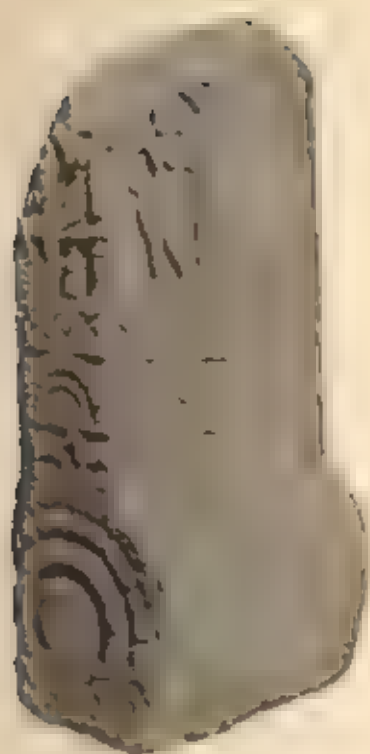
For there can be no doubt at all but that the tombs are of the neolithic type. They lie some seven feet underground and contain earth, broken pottery, and a number of small *kudamms* or pots of red pottery, some of the same kind as those found at the prehistoric site of Perambair (Fig. 2).

This much being certain, the interest attaching to their position relative to the main *stûpa* is obvious. For the latter stands at a slightly higher level and must, of course, be later than the tombs. It is, indeed, probably contemporary with the main *stûpa* itself. But it may be even earlier, for certain inscribed vat stones have been found in the vicinity of a gate prior to the Christian era, and the foundations in question may very well have belonged to one of the earlier *stupas* which undoubtedly existed at this site long anterior to the erection of the main monument. In any case, these neolithic tombs are older than the *stûpa* which they adjoin and which has partly been built over them.

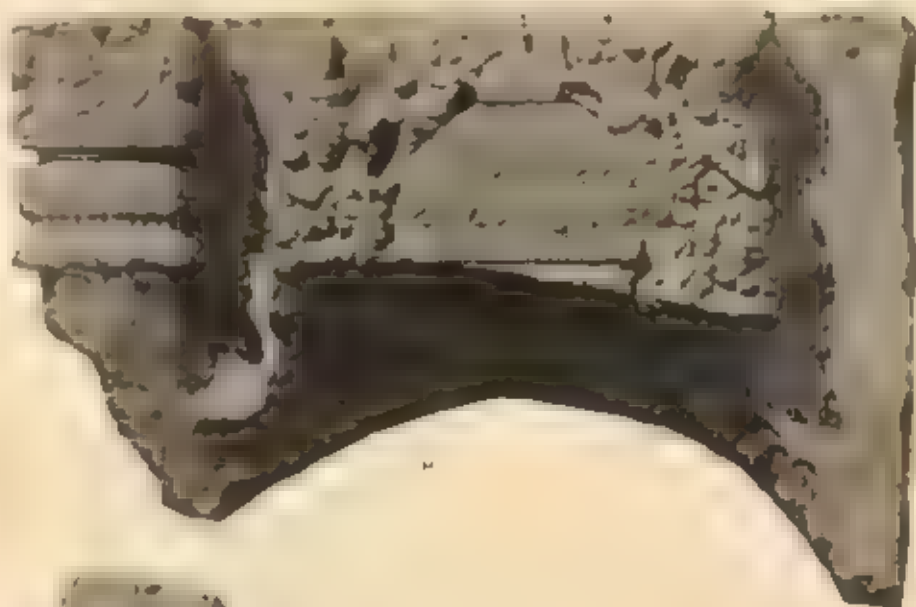
Around the walls of the *stûpa* are traces of a procession path, 3' 6" broad, formed of concrete, 2" thick, which was carried over the nearest of the urns, and must accordingly have been built after the time of their deposit. What this period may have been it is impossible to say, but it must be one much earlier than the date generally accepted for such remains. The discovery of large numbers of prehistoric



## EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAYATI



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EXCAVATIONS AT AMARA-AT



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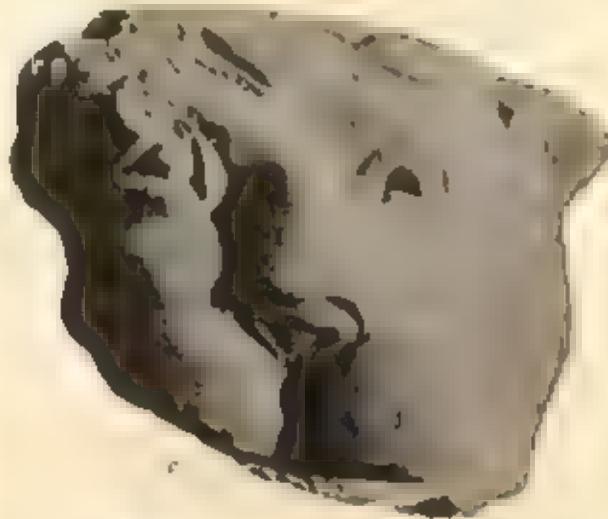
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implements of the palaeolithic and neolithic types in the country surrounding Amaravati, and in the vicinity of the *stupa* itself attests the existence of a large



FIG. 2

population in times most probably long before the foundation here of the earliest of the Buddhist monastic buildings.

A. REA

## PREHISTORIC REMAINS AT PERAMBAIR.\*

IN the south of the Chengam District is a range of hills which is classed as a reserved forest. Around the base of the hills are numerous prehistoric remains (Plate XXVII). These are situated at short distance from the bottom slopes and generally consist of stone circles of sizes varying from eight to fifty feet in diameter and formed of rough stone boulders. In others, the stones have been removed, and the site of deposit is only marked by a low mound which must at one time have been much higher, but has been reduced in height by the action of the weather.

The reservation of the site has been the means of protecting the majority of the remains from the unrestrained depredations of treasure-seekers, and the result is that many of the circles contain deposits in a varying state of preservation. Such mounds as are outside the reserve, usually show signs of having been dug into. The mounds are generally covered with a dense growth of prickly pear, which has afforded further means of protection. The surface soil is a coarse gravel with a substratum of clay. This is an unsuitable soil for the preservation of ceramic relics, as its expansion and contraction, according to the moisture to which it is subjected, result in fracture of the pottery.

The deposits are generally found at a depth of two to seven feet below the surface, and are contained in long oblong pottery cists rounded at the ends and standing on two or three rows of short legs (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1). They vary in length from two to seven feet and resemble those found at the Pallavaram site, with the exception that, whereas those at the latter place have two rows of legs, those at this site, whether large or small, almost invariably have three. One oblong cist is unusual, in that it has no legs (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 2). But no large specimens of this form appear.

\* Though the name of the range of Perambair hills is mentioned on the title of this paper, it does not imply that these remains are found only in its neighbourhood. It is situated at the west end of the range of hills, and the place where excavation was begun. Among these are several other villages, within the boundaries which protect the remains of this class exist. These villages are Adimappakudi, Kodavudi, Pattur, Subbarani, Thempakkudi, Thempakkudi, Thempakkudi, and Pambair.







Some tombs of pyriform shape also exist at Perambur but they are comparatively few in number. Text illustration, fig. 1, shows one of them from cromlech No. 9.

The main deposits are found in the cists themselves, but as with other sites, subsidiary deposits of pottery and iron implements are often found outside and around them. Some of these lie close to the surface and appear at intervals down to the main deposit, which may be as much as seven feet from the surface, but it is generally less.

About eight cromlechs adjoining the village of Perambur and situated both within and without the reserve, were examined on the first excavation of the site,

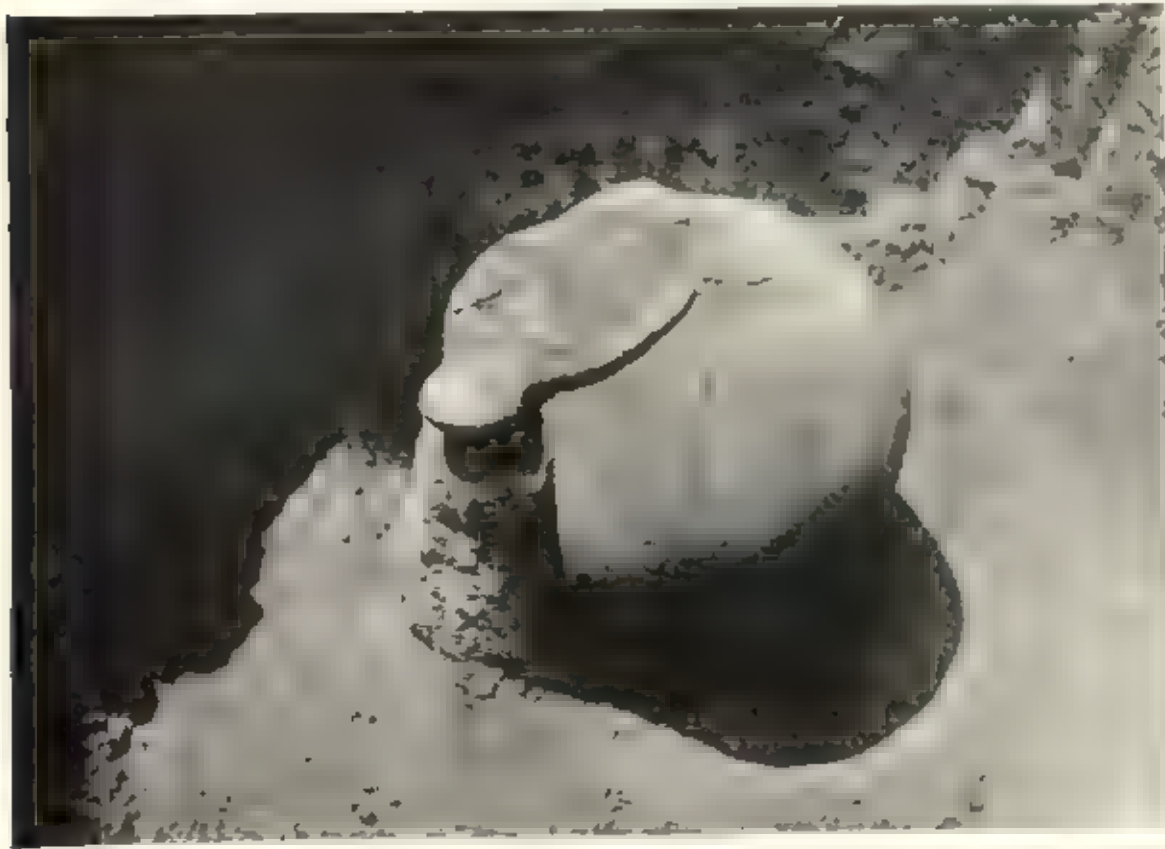


Fig. 1.

but though numerous traces of pottery were found, comparatively few of the articles were in a perfect condition. These consist of stone and iron implements and weapons, pottery, bones and shell ornaments. Some of the most typical of them are detailed in the lists below. Although a blackstone image of Ganesa has been included in the list (Plat. XXXIII, Fig. 28), there is little or no reason to suppose that it is prehistoric. It was found in the center and close to the surface of a small mound some twelve feet in diameter and about fifty feet from the tank of Perambur, which lies north-east of the village. Its position, therefore, points to its being of later date than the other remains found at this site, and which are themselves undoubtedly of the prehistoric period.

Deeper down was a human skeleton in a cross-legged sitting posture, with the hands resting on the knees as if in meditation. The skull, though cracked, was in



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

fair condition but the ribs and other bones were all too much decayed through age to be removed in the position in which they were found. Of the numerous other cromlechs excavated at Perambur it would be tedious to describe all the details, and it will be sufficient to note some of the more representative.

Text illustration, Fig. 2 shows a group of pottery in the centre of cromlech No. 7 at a few feet below the surface. The main deposit consisting of a skeleton with a grinding stone and a few pieces of pottery lay below. Their position is shown below on Fig. 3. Fig. 4 shows an oblong cist with attached pottery from cromlech No. 8 as it appeared just after excavation.

Another similar cist from cromlech No. 16 was devoid of outside articles of pottery, but is curious in that it has rows of thumb mark ornaments on the ends.



Fig. 4

Fig. 5 shows a urn of the pyriform class excavated from cromlech No. 14 at Kadamalaiputtur. Two oblong cists with their attached articles of pottery were found in cromlechs Nos. 10 and 11 at Thenpakkam, one of them is illustrated in Fig. 6.

The cists found in these cromlechs were always in a more or less fractured condition due to the causes before alluded to, and great care had to be exercised before it was possible to remove any. The following was the method adopted:—

The cist was first wrapped with ropes of coir and straw, and then a batten framework, so arranged as to support every portion of it, was built around it. These battens had also to be inserted below the legs and body of the cist, one at a time. Spaces between the framework and the cist were well packed with straw, and the whole was then removed without injury.

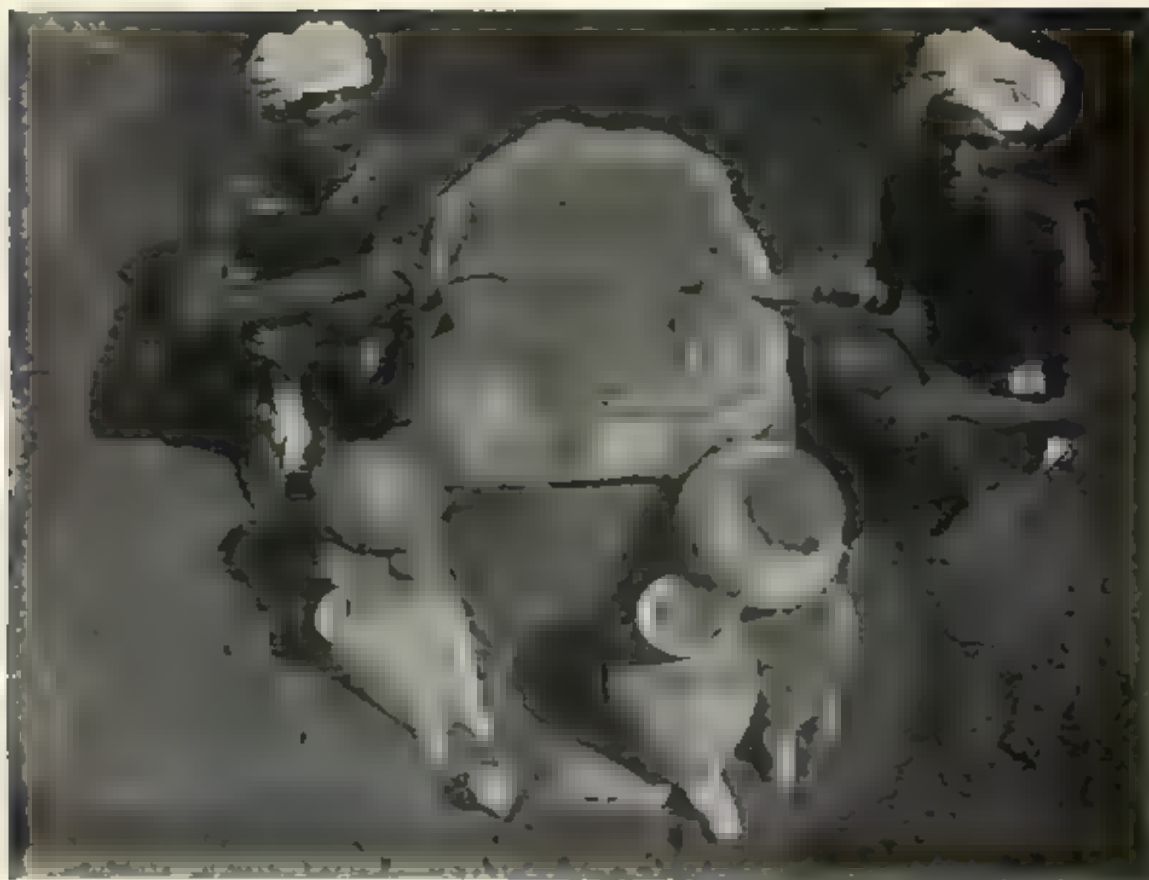


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

E. Y. C. M. P. E. M. P. A. 1







EXCAVATIONS AT PEIMBER



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# LIST OF FINDS.

## Plate XXXIII.

1. Oblong cist with ten legs in two rows ( $2' 0'' \times 1' 2'' \times 0''$ ). The length of the legs is  $3''$ .
2. Oblong cist without legs ( $1' 0'' \times 1' 6''$ ).
3. Three-legged jar ( $1' 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$ ). The length of the legs is  $3\frac{1}{2}''$ . The mouth is  $5''$  in diameter.
4. Pot (Height  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $7''$ ).
5. Oval-shaped pot which would be placed on a stand like fig. 12. It has a raised rim round the neck. Colour reddish. (Height  $7''$ . Diameter  $6''$ ).
6. Similar pot of smaller size. Colour reddish. (Height  $5\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
7. Small black pot covered with red colour. (Height  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ ).
8. Round elongated pot. The rim of the mouth is partly broken. Colour black. (Height  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
9. Pot with a wide mouth. The lower half is red and the upper half black; the whole coated with white colour. Height ( $3\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $3''$ .)
10. Small pot. Colour black. (Height  $3\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
11. Small toy pot. Colour black. (Height  $2''$ . Diameter  $2\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
12. Long ring stand. A portion of the lower base is broken. Colour red. (Height  $7\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $7''$ .)
13. Wide saucer-like pan. Colour red. (Diameter  $8\frac{1}{2}''$ . Height  $2\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
14. Flat saucer. Colour red. (Diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}''$ . Height  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
15. Broken knob. Colour black. (Height  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
16. Another knob. Colour black. (Height  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ . Diameter  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
17. Brass coiled wire bangle. (Diameter  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
18. Thin iron hatchet ( $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ .)
19. Long iron chisel ( $9'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ .)
20. Scythe ( $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ .)
21. Small knife with a handle ( $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$ . Length of the handle  $\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
22. Arrow-head with a handle ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$ . Length of the handle  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
23. Black granite grinder with four legs ( $18'' \times 8'' \times 7''$ ).
24. Neolithic celt of black polished stone. It is chisel-shaped, but the edge of the chisel portion is blunt. The other end tapers to a point ( $4'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ .)
25. Long ivory bead ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ ).
26. Conch shell ornamented with triangular and linear incisions.
27. Circular shell bead ornament with circular and triangular incisions and a hole in the middle ( $2\frac{1}{2}''$  in diameter).
28. Roughly sculptured blackstone Gajean image ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ).

## Plate XXXIV.

1. Bowl ( $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ ), black and polished, from Perambalur.
2. Bowl ( $6'' \times 1''$ ), reddish and polished, pointed base, from Perambalur.
3. Bowl ( $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ ), black and polished, from Perambalur.
4. Mug ( $5'' \times 4''$ ), black and polished, with grooved lines on the sides, from Kaverisampet-  
tur.
5. Bowl ( $5'' \times 3''$ ), reddish and unpolished, with grooved lined neck, from Perambalur.
6. Bowl ( $10'' \times 8''$ ), black and polished, cone-shaped, from Tenpakkam.
7. Small mug ( $4'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ ), reddish and dull polished, from Perambalur.

8. Cup ( $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ ), reddish and unpolished, from Perambair.
9. Small Bowl ( $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ ), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
10. Cup ( $3'' \times 2''$ ), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
11. Small Cup with rim ( $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ ), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
12. Cup ( $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ ), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
13. Cup cone-shaped ( $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ ), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
14. Small Bowl ( $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
15. Tumbler ( $6'' \times 3''$ ), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
16. Wide-mouthed bowl ( $5'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
17. Saucer or lid ( $7'' \times 2''$ ), black and polished, from Perambair.
18. Saucer or lid ( $6'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$ ), black and polished, from Perambair.

### Plate XXXV.

1. Large ring stand ( $8'' \times 5''$ ), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
2. Jar ( $15'' \times 4''$ ), reddish and dull polished, with 2 cups and 1 spout, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
3. Lid cup ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ ), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
4. Lid cup ( $4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
5. Lid cup ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ ), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
6. Lid cup ( $3'' \times 2''$ ), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
7. Lid cup ( $4'' \times 2''$ ), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
8. Portion of an iron sword ( $1\frac{1}{4}''$ ), from Perambair.
9. Handle of an iron sword (handle  $1\frac{1}{4}''$ ), from Kadamalaiputtūr.
10. Iron sickle or grass cutting implement ( $1' \times 6''$ ), from Kadamalaiputtūr.
11. Iron hatchet ( $8'' \times 3''$ ), from Perambair.
12. Iron hatchet ( $6'' \times 3''$ ), from Perambair.
13. Iron hatchet ( $6'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ ), from Perambair.
14. Iron hatchet ( $6'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), from Sitāputam.
15. Iron chisel ( $5'' \times 2''$ ), from Sitāputam.
16. Iron chisel ( $6'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ ), from Tenpākkam.
17. Iron chisel ( $5'' \times 2''$ ), from Tenpākkam.
18. Iron chisel ( $6'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ ), from Tenpākkam.
19. Stone pebble ( $10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), from Perambair.

### Plate XXXVI.

1. Long-necked pot ( $16'' \times 8''$ ), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
2. Wide-mouthed pot ( $8'' \times 9''$ ), reddish and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
3. Pot with rim ( $7'' \times 7''$ ), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
4. Broad pot ( $8'' \times 6''$ ), reddish and not polished, with wide twisted mouth, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
5. Long-necked pot with rim ( $8'' \times 7''$ ), black and polished, from Perambair.
6. Pot ( $6'' \times 5''$ ), black and dull polished, with 2 grooved lines in the centre, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
7. Pot with broken neck and four grooved lines in the centre ( $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ ), reddish and polished, from Perambair.
8. Long and wide-mouthed pot with rim ( $4'' \times 4''$ ), black and polished, with 2 grooved lines below the neck, from Perambair.
9. Broken wide-mouthed pot ( $7'' \times 5''$ ), reddish and dull polished, with pointed base, from Perambair.
10. Pot ( $5'' \times 5''$ ), reddish and not polished, broken mouthed, from Perambair.





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EXCAVATIONS AT PERAMBALUR



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11. Pot (6" x 6"), reddish and dull polished, broken mouthed, from Perambalur.
12. Lower part of a pot (5" x 4") black and polished from Perambalur.
13. Pot of unusual shape (4" x 3½"), black and polished, from Perambalur.
14. Small pot with long neck (4½" x 4"), reddish and dull polished, from Tenzpakkam.
15. Small pot (3" x 3") black and polished from Kattankuppam.
16. Small wide-mouthed pot (3" x 3"), red and dull polished, from Perambalur.

ALEXANDER REA.



## THE TEMPLES OF ŌSIĀ.

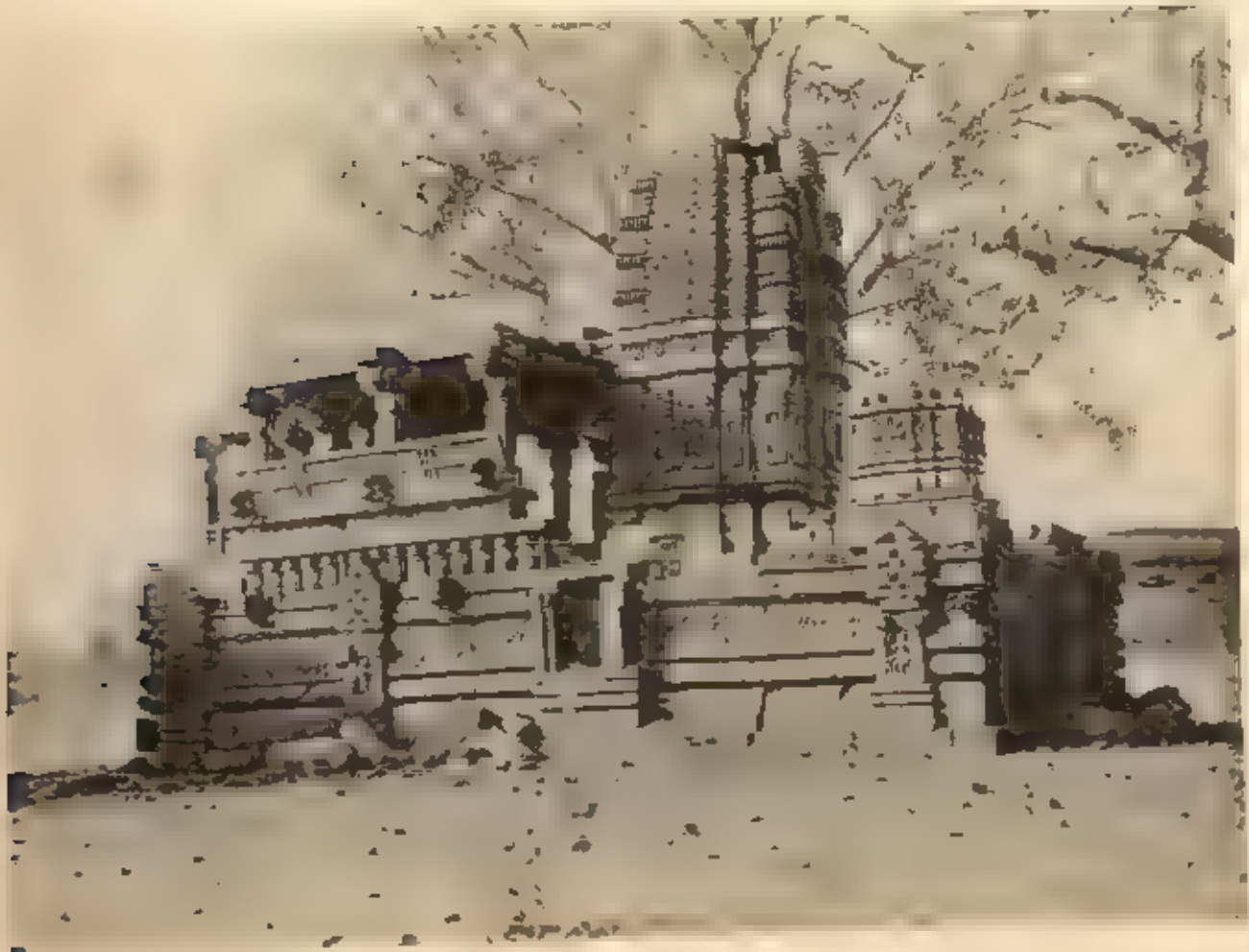
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ŌSIĀ, or properly Ōsiam, which is known to almost everybody in Rājputanā as the cradle of a class of hansas called Ōsvals but whose exact position is hardly known to any, is situated thirty-two miles north-north-west of Jodhpur, in the midst of a sandy region. It is now a small village, but there can be little doubt that formerly it was a large city, as is clearly seen from the number of ruined temples to be found there. According to local tradition, Ōsā, when it was at the height of its prosperity, had spread to such a length that its grain market was the village of Mathāna, sixteen miles to the south-south-east, its oil men's quarter was Tivrī (Teori), thirteen miles south-south-west, and one of its principal gates was in Ghatiyala, twenty-eight miles in the same direction.

There are many legends, both Haradu and Jaina, connected with Ōsā. The following has appeared in the *Annual Progress Report, Western Circle*, for 1906-7, p. 36; but deserves to be reproduced here:—According to local tradition, it was at first known as Melpur Pattan. About a mile and a half to the north-west of the place is shown a tamūlas with foot-prints carved on the top, and containing the relics of an ascetic called Dhamdhī Mahā. One day his pupil went to the village for alms, but nobody gave him any grain. Thereupon the ascetic became enraged and cursed the village, and so the old Melpur Pattan became *dottan*, i.e., buried underground. The town was afterwards re-peopled by Uppal Dē, a Paramara prince, who, being hard pressed by his enemies, sought refuge with a king of the Padhar (Pratihara) dynasty, who then reigned supreme in Marwar. The Padhar sovereign assigned the ruins of Melpur Pattan to the Paramara king, and asked him to take shelter there. The latter re-peopled the isolated village, and named it Navaneri Nagari. But the village was also called Ōsā, because Uppaladeva took *osā* there, the word signifying "refuge, shelter" in Marwari language. And it was this Uppaladeva who built the temple of Saekya-nata, the tutelary goddess of the Sankhli Paramaras. A few years after, there came to Ōsā a Jaina Jati, of the name of Katan Prabhu, disciple of Bhadracharya. Completely failed in his attempt to make Jaina converts there, he had recourse to a ruse. He prepared a snake of cotton, and infused life into it. At his orders the snake crept stealthily into the



TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 1 FROM WEST



TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 2, FROM SOUTH.



palace, and left the only son of the king. All remedies were tried, but to no purpose, and the prince was on the verge of death. The king avowed that he would give anything to see his son restored to health. Ratan Prabhu approached, and bade the snake suck out the poison. This was done, and the prince forthwith regained his health and strength. Ratan Prabhu insisted upon the king and all his subjects embracing Jainism. So they had to become Jains, and this enraged Sachya-mātā, as she could no longer obtain any living victims. She cursed the people, and defied them to stay there under pain of themselves and their posterity being destroyed. The Ōsās, i.e., the original residents of Ōsā, had to flee headlong in all directions. But they prayed to the goddess, and propitiated her to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. And so Ōsā now passes at Ōsā the night of the day on which he pays his homage to the *mātā* for fear of being overtaken by some calamity or another.

The Jaina legends somewhat vary, and are recounted in the *Puttavalī* of the *Upakisa gacchhā* which has been ably translated into English by Dr. Harle.

Before going to Ōsā I visited Taveri (Tavri) thirteen miles south of it. Here I was informed by the people that there were only two temples at Ōsā that would be archaeologically interesting, viz. the temple of Mahavira and the temple of Sachya Mātā, which have been referred to in both the Hindu and Jaina accounts. But on my visit, I found that the place was strewn with the ruins of many old temples. On the outskirts of the village there are no less than eleven large temples including the *Jaina* one, and on a hill, to the east of it, is situated the temple of Sachya Mātā surrounded by five other shrines. Almost all of these temples are Vaishnavite, but we shall first turn our attention to those below the hill. All these, except two, are on the east side of the village. The easternmost group (Plate XXXVII a) stands on an elevated terrace, the front of which is a low wall surmounted by a crenellated parapet. The top moulding of this terrace, as of many other temples here, is decorated with what may be called a spiral ornament, the cornice with horseshoe arches and the flat band beneath with floral scroll work. The walls are broken up into niches, resembling an artichoke seen from the side. They are four at each side, three at the back, and two in front. These are occupied by Vaishnavite images, mostly of the incarnations of Vishnu. Of these last the image of Balīlā is the most noteworthy, as showing that as early as the fifth century when the temple must have been erected, Balīlā had come to be regarded as an *avatāra* of Vishnu.

The temple is a *Panchamukha*, i.e. it consists of a larger central shrine facing west, with four smaller subsidiary shrines at the corners of the platform. The shrine at the north-west corner has well-nigh disappeared, but the remainder, viz. the whole, well preserve. Those at the back like the central shrine, face the west and those in front must have faced each other and consequently faced north and south. The central shrine is, on the whole, well preserved. On the lintel of the door-frame figures Vishnu seated on Garuda. Immediately above on the frieze is a miniature chapel and at the ends are miniature shrines. Between this door and the spires are two niches, that on the proper right being occupied by Gāṇapati and that on the proper left by a deity most probably Kubera with two hands, one holding a cup and the other what appears to be a wine-flask. Above are the *Naragraha* or the

Nine Planets. The door-frame has four distinct mouldings, rising from the two groups of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which are placed beneath. The innermost band consists of some floral design; the second, of snakes which cover the whole central moulding with their intricate coils, the tails being held by Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu already noted on the lintel above; the third is divided into five panels each filled with a pair of lovers, and the fourth or outermost band consists of an oblique leaf border. From the sides of the door-frame project two pilasters decorated with *Kirtimukhas*, vase and obelisk capitals, and a dancing female below. Inside the sanctum is an altar, on which has now been placed the upper part of a *torana* or ornamented arch with the image of Śeshasayi-Nārāyaṇa in the centre. This sculpture was certainly not originally there, but must have formed part of the front of the spire of some subsidiary shrine.

The exterior of the walls is profusely covered with sculpture. To begin with the south-west corner the niche, which stands in line with the shrine door and consequently faces the west, contains the guardian of the south-west, viz. Virūḍhaka apparently riding a horse. He has two hands, one holding a sword and the other resting on his thigh. He is followed by Yama, the *Dakṛiṇa* of the south, occupying the first niche of the south wall. In his left hand he bears a skull-crown and mace and his other hand is broken off. He is seated on his *cakṣaṇa*, the buffalo. In the next niche is Gaṇeśa standing. Then comes the principal niche in the centre, which is occupied by Trivikrama who strides forward towards the proper left and with his raised left foot touches the head of a demon. He has four arms, his lower right remaining empty, his upper right holding a mace, his upper left a trident and lower left a conch. Near his lower right hand is the head of a horse, and in the proper left corner is Vāmāna with his umbrella, on whose hand water is being poured by another person evidently Bah. In the next niche following we have Chandra or the Moon with a crescent behind his face and occupying a seat supported by two birds. The last niche contains Agni, the regent of the south-east with his vehicle the ram.

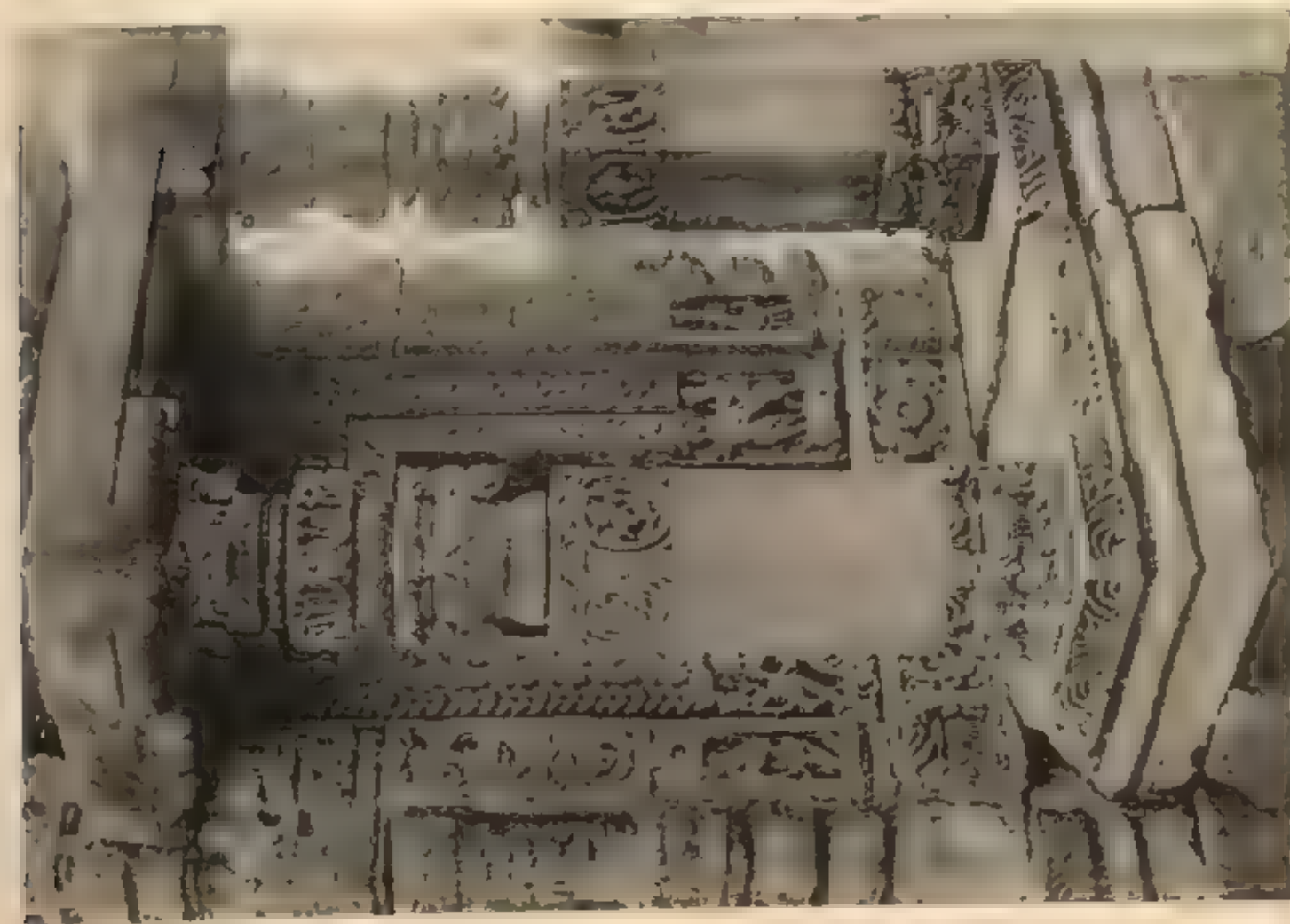
Then commences the east wall, the first niche of which is occupied by Indra the guardian of the east. The second niche is destroyed. The third is the principal niche, wherein figures Hariḥara. The proper right portion of his body is Hara or Śiva, and consequently the one right hand which is preserved (the other being broken off) holds a trident and on this side below is Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva. The left part represents Hari or Viṣṇu, and the left hand is, therefore, bent to the discus and the conch, while on this side, below is Garuda, Viṣṇu's vehicle. The fourth niche contains Surya, and the fifth Īśa the regent of the north-east.

Then begins the north wall, the corner figure on which represents Kubera, the god of riches and the guardian of the north. He has two hands, one of which holds what is generally supposed to be the money bag but which may be a wine-bask. His *cakṣaṇa* here shown is the man, and this is in keeping with his epithet *manu-cakṣan*. Kubera is followed by Mahāśasana-mardīna, and the latter by Narasiṃha, who figures in the central niche. Then we have Brahmā, who is followed by Vāya, the regent of the north-west, here represented as riding a stag. The last niche which is in a line with the shrine door and consequently faces the west, contains Varuṇa, who curiously enough is shown as seated on a peacock and not on a crocodile, his usual vehicle. Though the roof of the porch is gone, the spire of the





CHINESE, EASTERN OF TEMPLE  
HAGIYARA 101



CHINESE, EASTERN OF TEMPLE  
HAGIYARA 101



shrine is preserved intact. The *āmalasara* or *āmalaka* stone has no less than three sockets for bearing flag-staffs. The finial has a discus carved in front, no doubt to show that the temple was dedicated to Vishnu. With regard to this spire it is not worthy that between the *amalasara* and the finial we can not find the intervening member which is generally known as *amalagiri* and which is very often found in old *kīrtimukhas*.

Neither the central nor the subsidiary shrines contain any object of worship. Their doors and the porch pillars are as deeply and artistically carved as those of the main shrine (Plate XXXVIII a). On the outer walls of the shrine, at the south-east corner, are Lakṣmī-Narayana, Śarya and Rāyaṇa; in the central niches facing the north, east and south respectively. The principal niches on the north and south of the shrine at the north-east corner contain figures of Vishnu seated on Gaṇḍa and of Vishnu standing, respectively. It is difficult to identify the sculpture in the remaining niche. It shows two male figures, apparently twins. In the three principal niches of the shrine on the south-west corner we find three goddesses. That on the west contains Chāmūṇḍā, the hag with withered breasts. The goddess in the southern niche is seated on a lotus throne (*padmaṣāna*), has four breasts, her lower right holding a cup, the upper right a trident, the upper left some diamond object and the lower left a shield. The third goddess is seated on a lotus and is eight armed. One right hand rests on her head, another right bears a lotus and a third right a sword. One left holds a pitcher, another a bow and a third a discus. Her moving right and left hands are held round the ankle of her right foot which is raised.

The next temple, that arrests our attention, also stands on a platform close by, but the flight of steps leading to it and the porch are gone (Plate XXXVII b). It is also a *panchayatana*, but the subsidiary shrines have in this case greatly suffered, that at the north-east corner having almost completely disappeared. The point in which this temple differs from that just described is that the central shrine has a *subhramandapa* not found in the latter. This *subhramandapa* occupies the whole breadth of the terrace. The roof of the hall was originally supported by four huge and six slender pillars. The latter rest on stone bases running along both sides of the hall. The seats are provided with backs, which form an inclined parapet having ornamental repeating heads, which project outwards in a line with the pillars above. The roof of the hall as well as that of the porch is gone, and also the parapet wall and short pillars on the north have disappeared.

Immediately over the entrance to the sanctum is Vishnu seated on Gaṇḍa who holds the tails of the serpents as in the last temple. Above the lintel there is a row of five projecting niches, of which the central one is occupied by Vishnu and those on the proper right and left by Brahmā and Śiva, respectively, each being having his consort seated on his lap. In the niche at the proper right end is Gaṇapati and in that at the other end, Kubera. The recesses between the five niches are filled with standing musicians. On the frieze above we notice the *Narayana*. The jambs of this door are very similar to those of the first temple, and consequently need no description (Plate XXXVIII b).

As the exterior of the shrine also is an almost exact copy, only the interesting points of difference may be noted. Nārpati is here given the mare as his *vāhana*, and not the horse. Harihara on the east side bears a composite head-dress also, the right

part consisting of the matted hair of Śiva and the left of the tiara of Vishnu. Kubhēra on the north side stands with a cup in one hand and a wine-flask in another on a platform supported by his *vehana*, the man. The *amalagaro* and finial of the spire are destroyed.

Of the subsidiary small shrines only two have their walls preserved, viz. those at the south-east and north-west corners. Those of the first have in the principal niches on the south, east and north Revanta, Surya and Balarama, respectively, the last with his wife Revati standing beside him. His head is canopied by a five-hooded cobra, in accordance with the legend which regards him as an incarnation of Śeṣha. He has four hands. His lower right hand bears a cup similar to that of Kubhēra, his upper right the ploughshare and his upper left, the club. With his lower left hand he clasps his consort to his bosom. The principal niches of the other shrine contain Nāṭeśa or Śiva performing the *tanakara*, Mahadeva with Parvati on his lap, and the scene of Śiva and Parvati's marriage, on the west, north and east respectively. The sculptural representation of the wedding of Śiva and Parvati is very rare and is met with only in very early temples. The only instance of a subsidiary shrine where this scene is sculptured in a principal niche is that belonging to the triple-shrined Vashnava temple outside the village of Āmṛvān in the Kōṭā State.

The third temple (Plate XXXIX *a* and *b*) is almost contiguous with the preceding one, but while the first two temples face the west this faces the east. This again is not a *pañchayatana*, and in the absence of secondary shrines at the corners, there was no need of the terrace exceeding in dimensions the basement of the temple. It consequently has the appearance of a plinth, especially as it is severely plain and is not decorated with any floral bands. The most noteworthy feature of the temple is the peculiar domeshaped roof of the *gabharamandapa* as the smaller bays in the side aisles are covered with curved slabs laid side by side. The central portion of the ceiling consists of a square slab supported by four long pillars, two of which belong to the porch of the sanctum.

The roof is crowned by a lid of three slabs meeting in a fluted knob. On my visit I found that the side spaces between the pillars and pilasters of the shrine porch had been filled with stones by the villagers. I do not know for what purpose. In the principal niches on the outer walls of the shrine are figures of Narasimha, Pritykrāma and Hariharan on the north, west, and south respectively. The spire of the shrine is gone, and I tried in vain to find out portions of it among the debris, in order to obtain some idea of its style. The projecting cornice which we distinctly see at the back precludes, I think, the possibility of its having had a spire like those of the temples just described. This cornice, on the other hand, closely resembles that of the spire which surmounts a shrine situated nearly two miles south of Ōmā. The corner brackets of the wall which distinguish that shrine with a sober total effect the temple under discussion. I am, therefore, inclined to assume that the spires of both temples were similar in style.

Between this temple and the next to be described there is a group of shrines, none of which is of any particular interest except one which faces the north. Its door-frame is plain, but there is a figure of Ganapati in the centre of the lintel. The exterior has only three niches placed in the centre of the walls and containing images of Ganapati, Śiva and Kubhēra on the east, south and west respectively. The *śikhara* is, on the whole, well preserved except for the finial which is gone.

## TEMPLES OF OS A



1. TEMPLE OF HARIKARA NO. 3, FROM SOUTH EAST



2. TEMPLE OF HARIKARA NO. 3 FROM SOUTH EAST





The fourth temple that now draws our attention is close by this group. The back of it has become almost inaccessible in consequence of the luxuriant growth of thorny shrubs. The temple consists of a shrine and a porch. The door of the shrine is much plainer than that of any preceding temple. The object on the projecting portion of the lintel I cannot identify. Above are carved, curiously enough, only seven of the *Naragraha* or Nine Planets. The principal niches of the outer walls contain Trivikrama, Vishnu and Narasimha on the south, east, and north respectively. Of the *Ashta-dikpalas* sculptured in the smaller niches, Kubera figures with a bowl in his right and a wine-flask in his left hand. He is shown standing without any *cāhana*. The roof of the porch is partially preserved, but the spire of the shrine is intact except for the finial which is destroyed.

The next temple that is in the close vicinity is well-nigh a wreck, and therefore calls for no remarks. But the temple farther on, though the larger portion of it also is destroyed, has still some parts preserved which can be described. It faces the west and stands on a terrace, which is decorated along the upper portion with bands of spiral, horse-shoe and triangular designs. Its front wall is very much damaged, and the remaining three are each provided with a small niche. This temple does not appear to have had any subsidiary shrines. Originally it consisted of a sanctum, a hall and a porch. The porch is now an utter ruin, and the hall very nearly so. On the lintel of the shrine door we find only a figure of Garuda, not seizing the two serpents' tails as in other temples, but simply holding two conch in his two hands. Immediately above is Vishnu flanked on the right by Brahmā and Gaṇēśa and on the left by Śiva and Kubera. Of these, Brahmā has his legs crossed half-way and his knees tied together with a piece of cloth. Above, on the frieze are the *Naragraha*. The principal niches on the outer walls of the shrine contain figures of Gaṇēśa, Surya and Mahāśakti-rāmanī. Of the *Ashta-dikpalas*, Kubera here stands on a platform supported by his *cāhana*, the man, as in Temple No. 2. The roof of the *sabhamandapa* is completely gone, but that of the shrine, excepting the finial, is preserved.

The seventh temple that now arrests our attention is the one standing close beside the house of the local Jigirdar (Plate XIa). It is perhaps the most magnificent of the whole group of Osia temples. The two tall fluted pillars of the porch in front give it an imposing and almost classical appearance. The temple faces the west and consists of a shrine, a hall and a porch. It does not appear to have stood on a terrace, but there were, no doubt, originally four attendant shrines, of which only one, namely, that at the north-west corner, has survived. These subsidiary shrines were originally connected by a cloister (*śol*), which served the purpose of a compound wall and contained a row of flat-roofed chambers intended as a resting place for travellers. Only parts of it at the front and back now remain.

The *sabhamandapa* and the sanctum both stand on a raised platform, and are approached by a flight of steps under a projecting porch, whose two front pillars, just referred to, rise from the ground level. The roof of the hall was supported on lintels resting on twelve pillars, arranged in four rows. The two outer rows, each of four pillars, are arrayed along the edge of the plinth; the two central of the four inner columns form, as it were, a passage from the flight of steps to the entrance of the shrine. The spaces between the pillars of the hall along the edge, except at the

entrance, were once filled with stone screens and stone benches, part of which still exists on the south side. The notches in the pillars immediately above this wall are evidently meant for ornamental elephant heads. An idea of this screen, together with these elephant heads, may still be formed from an inspection of the hall of the Piplā-dēvi temple, to which we shall shortly come.

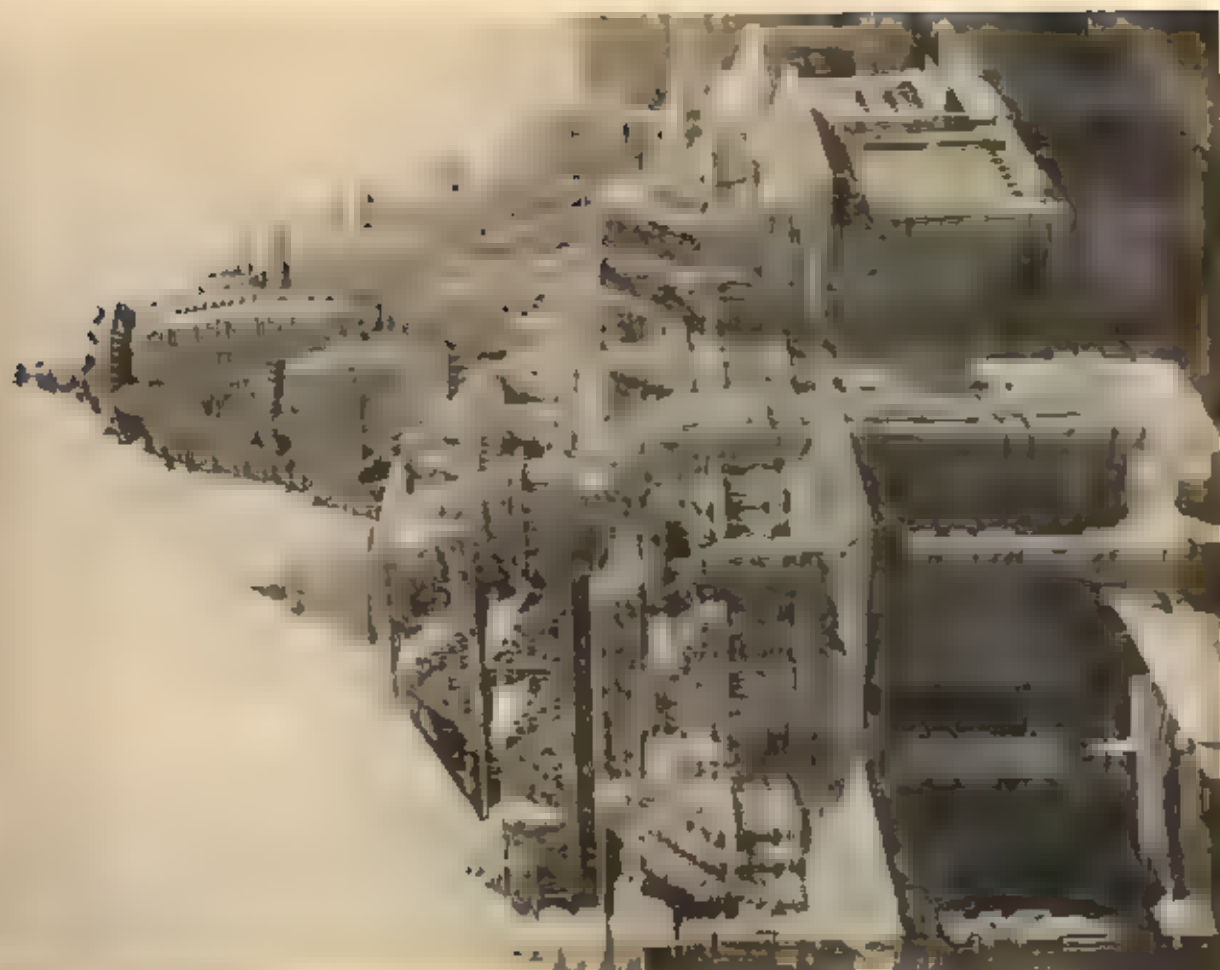
The door of the shrine (Plate XLl a) seems to have been white-washed many a time, when the temple was in use. Most of the figures are indeed so thickly encrusted with whitewash as to be irre recognizable. On the lintel above the entrance is a figure of Garuḍa, holding the tails of serpents. Over him are the *Naragraha* and on the frieze above is a row of nine niches containing figures, the central one of which is apparently of Lakṣmī-Narāyaṇa. On the immediate right is Gaṇapati and farther Brahmā with his legs crossed and with a piece of cloth wound round his knees. On their immediate left is apparently Kuberā and farther perhaps Śiva.

The pilasters projecting on both sides of the entrance are elegantly sculptured. The lower halves are carved with dancing females with natural poses. Above are *Varuḍa*-Viṣṇu and *Samkarṣaṇa*-Balarāma, the former on the proper right hand pilaster and the latter on the left. Both are seated on Garuḍas. The former bears the conch, discus, mace and lotus in his four hands, and has a nimbus behind his head. The latter also has four hands, two of which bear the pangaḥara and the club the two distinctive emblems of Balarāma. One of the remaining hands holds a conch and the other touches the breast. His head is canopied by a five-hooded cobra, as he is looked upon as an incarnation of Śeṣha.

The outside walls of the shrine are profusely sculptured. What is worthy of note here is that the principal niches on the side walls do not occupy the central position. This is due to the addition of the extra westernmost *moulding* on each side. To begin with the south wall, the first niche contains Balarāma standing; the second Nṛṣi; the third Kuberā; the fourth, the principal niche, Gaṇapati; and the fifth, Varāha. On the east, the first niche is occupied by Rēvanta on horseback accompanied by a dog and followed by an attendant who holds an umbrella over him. In the second, the principal niche, is Sūrya, wearing a close-fitting tunic reaching down almost to his ankles, a kind of necklace, an *arjunga* or belt round his waist, and high boots. In the third niche is Brahmā with a single bearded head and four hands. Two of these hold a rosary and a book, the others rest on the heads of his attendants. The first niche on the north wall contains Narasiṃha; the second—the principal niche—Mahiṣasuramardina; the third, Lakṣmī, but with her hands broken off; the fourth Varuḇa and the fifth, Viṣṇu. The hall as well as the porch is roofless, but the spire of the shrine, excepting the finial, is well preserved.

There can be no doubt that at some later period this temple, or at any rate its hall was rebuilt. This may be seen from the mixed character of the podium on the north side. Even a cursory inspection forces the conclusion upon us that in all likelihood the whole of the podium was originally a carved one like the terraces of the previous temples and that the larger portion of the present podium, which is built of plain dressed stones, was put up later (Plate XLII a). Similarly, the two pillars in the north-west and south-west corners seem to have been tampered with. That the upper portions of these are not original work is evident from the joints that may be clearly

TEMPLES OF OSIA



TEMPLE OF MAHAVIRA FROM NORTH



TEMPLE OF MAHAVIRA FROM NORTH







TELESE REE A DEV. I. A. E. J. MANTAPA



A. I. E. S. I. A. E. J. E. J. MANTAPA



seen and from the different colour of the stone out of which they are carved. I have already stated that this is perhaps the most magnificent of all the Ōsā temples, and that it owes its striking character in a large measure to the two tall columns of the porch. But though a gem of its kind, it has suffered most from vandalism. This is mainly due to its close neighbourhood to the residence of the local Jāgirdār, who has appropriated it for his private purposes. I found his camels tethered to various parts of the building. A huge log was placed on the highest step of the stair-case to the *sabhamandapa* to prevent cattle from entering it. The sanctum is utilised for the storing of fodder, and the doorway is built up for two thirds of its height with stones to prevent the intrusion of cattle.

Close by and to the north-west of this temple is another which is the only old temple dedicated to Śiva that I found at Ōsa. The basement of the shrine and the pillars of the *sabhamandapa* are silted up, and buried in sand. Of the wall nothing now survives beyond seven pillars. The lintel of the shrine door is broken up into five projecting niches. The central one of these is occupied by Śiva, who is flanked by Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the immediate right and left. The exterior of the shrine is plain except for three niches which are now empty. Part of the *śikhara* on the west is destroyed. The rest is well preserved excepting the *kalāśa* which is gone.

We now come to the ninth temple, that of Piplā-dēvī (Plate XLII b). It faces



PLATE XLII b

the north and consists of a shrine and a hall, each provided with a porch. The *sabhamandapa* is rather elongated, and the lower portion of it is covered by a plain screen-wall holding a marginal seat all round and crowned with ornamental elephant heads jutting out. The pillars of the hall and outer porch are plain. But this deficiency is more than made up by the pillars and pilasters of the inner porch, which are massive and profusely carved (Plate XLII b). They want the finish which never appears to have been given as is clear from the chisel marks on the lower part of the shaft. On the lintel of the shrine door figures Garuḍa, holding the tails of the serpents. Above are the *Naga-praha*. Inside the shrine, are three almost life-size images placed on a dais. The central one is that of Mahishāsuramardīnī, worshipped by the villagers as Piplā-dēvī. On her proper right is Kulōra (fig. 1) and on her left is Gaṇḍā.

The principal niches on the exterior of the shrine contain Gaṇalakṣmī and Mahishāsuramardīnī on the west and east faces respectively. The principal niche in the back wall (i.e., on the south) is empty. But there can be little doubt that

it originally contained the image of the goddess seated on a lion-throne which is now lying in the hall. The roof of the hall has completely disappeared, and the *likhara* of the shrine is all but gone.

The next temple that deserves notice is the celebrated Jaina temple, referred to in the Hindu and Jaina accounts (Plate XL b). It is dedicated to Mahāvīra, the last Tirthamkara, and is situated on the western outskirts of the village. It faces the north, and stands within a walled enclosure. The original flight of steps in front is now buried underground, and the Jāgirdār, so I am told, does not allow the temple authorities to unearth them, although they are willing to do so at their own expense. The temple consists of a sanctum, a closed hall and an open porch. Immediately in front of this porch is a *torana* or ornamental arch (Plate XLIII a). On the middle eight-sided portion of each of its two pillars are carved eight Tirthamkaras seated on *palmamoras* in niches. The lower part of the pillar is square in section with recessed corners and has four figures of Tirthamkaras standing in the *kapotabarga* attitude, and, beneath, four occupying lotus seats. Just where the square form of the shaft changes into the eight-sided form a short inscription is engraved. It bears the date *Sam. 1075 Ishodhu mudi 10 Aditya-rārē Śrīti-nakshatre*, and mentions that the gate was constructed by two individuals, whose names unfortunately cannot be made out. There is a second porch known as *nāl-mandapa*. Such a porch which is commonly found in early Jaina temples is so called because it is erected over a stair-case (*nāl*) leading into the interior of the temple. The stair-case in the present case, as stated above, is now concealed underground. Inside this porch, near the north-east corner, is a rectangular slab of marble built into a niche. The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines, but is much mutilated. It begins by invoking the blessings of the first Tirthamkara Rishabhadeva, the son of Nābhi, and of the last Tirthamkara Vira, the son of Siddhārtha. Then it is stated that Rāma, the destroyer of Ravana, had a brother, named Lakshmana, who did the duties of his doorkeeper (*pratihāra*), and hence arose from the latter the Pratihāra dynasty. In this dynasty there was a king named Vatsarāja. In his kingdom was situated the extensive city of Tkoṣa, *i.e.*, Oser, and in the heart of this city stood the temple of Mahāvīra. So far the contents of the inscription are clear, but from the remaining mutilated portion we can glean only two things as certain. The first is that 'this *mandapa*,' evidently the *nāl-mandapa*, in which the inscription is found, had fallen into disrepair, and, at the request of the temple committee (*goshthi*) a merchant called Jindaka re-erected it. Secondly, the date of this renovation is the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1013. The temple thus existed during the reign of Vatsarāja, who belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty, and flourished about A.D. 770-800; and its *nāl-mandapa* was rebuilt in the Vikrama year 1013 (=A.D. 936.)

The temple is, like most ancient Jaina temples, enclosed both at the sides and the back by a row of subsidiary shrines, which, to judge from their style, are not contemporaneous with the temple but belong to the tenth century. They were probably constructed at the time when the *nāl-mandapa* was repaired by Jindaka. The spire of the temple has obviously been rebuilt with the old materials. I gathered from the villagers that it was in ruins a hundred years ago, and was rebuilt of the fallen pieces. This is also seen from the fact that under the *amalasara* there is a



TEMPLE OF BURYA NO. 7, FROM NORTH



TEMPLE OF PIPLA LEVI





human face on each of the four sides, a characteristic found in almost all modern temples in Gujarāt and Rājputānā.

We now come to the last of the temples at the foot of the hill. It is situated about a mile to the north-west of the village. It faces the east, and consists of a sanctum, a hall and a porch. The whole temple stands on a highly decorated plinth. The plinth has a gateway at the back and south side of the sanctum. The walls of the hall also have collapsed on the south side and at the north-west corner. The centre of the base of the shrine door is occupied by Garuda, holding the tails of two serpents. Above are the *Naragraha* with female *raustichas*. At the further ends are Gṇapati and Mahēśvari on the proper right and left respectively. Inside the sanctum is Viṣṇu, *reposing on Śeṣha* (*Seṣhaṅga-Narāyaṇa*). The outside walls of the shrine contain the effigies of Varāha, Viṣṇu seated on Garuda, and Narasiṃha in the principal niches facing the north, west and south respectively. The other niches do not here, as in other temples, run over the whole length of the vertical mouldings. The figures carved in these niches are mostly dancing females. We also find the *Aṣṭa-dikpālas*, who are here sculptured with four hands each. Of these, Kubhērā on the north side holds a cup and a wine-flask in his lower and upper left hands. His lower right hand is broken off and the other right hand bears apparently a lotus. What is worthy of note is that he is seated on a bull. The roof of the hall is gone. The finial and *amalatanā* of the spire are also gone, but its walls contain through some bands thereon, have here and there become loose.

So far with regard to the temples situated below the hill. Of those on the hill, the most celebrated is the temple of Śacchya Mātā. It is a sacred place to Marwāṇ, and people even from as far south as Palanpur come here to worship the goddess. It is, however, the Ōṣal Jūnas, who regard her with peculiar reverence. They bring their children to the temple for the tonsure ceremony, and invariably present offerings to the goddess after the performance of the marriage rites. The worshippers are not permitted to pass the night at Ōṣa after paying their homage to the goddess, for if they do so, they are sure to be overtaken by some calamity or other.

The temple faces the west and consists of a shrine, a circumambulatory passage, an assembly-hall and a porch (Plate XLIV a). The dome of the assembly-hall is supported on eight pillars octagonally arranged, as we find in structures dating from the 11th century onwards. Round about the dome are sixteen brackets with as many female dancing figures. On the walls of the shrine outside are four niches—what are called the three principal niches and an extra one in the south. In the former facing the south, east and north respectively are Chāmunḍā, the hag with withered breasts, Mahāśāsaramārdinī, and Śītālā seated on an ass and holding a winnowing basket (*carpa*) in two of her hands behind her head. In the fourth niche is a naked image of Bhairava. On the north-east corner of the shrine is an inscription dated *Saṃvat 1244 Chaitra Sudh 10 Gaurā*, which mentions that a tankar (*padhā*) Gayapala, of the Ghobalāṃśu family (*gotra*) had decorated the sanctum (*garbhaghara*) with the images of Chāndika, Śītālā, Saṅgheluka, Kṣhēmānkari and Kṣhētrapālā. Chāndika here referred to is obviously Chāmunḍā in the niche facing the south. Śītālā is no doubt the goddess installed in the sanctum. Kṣhēmānkari thus appears to be Mahāśāsaramārdinī and Kṣhētrapālā is doubtless the nude Bhairava.

The basement mouldings of the shrine are undoubtedly old, but all other work is of much later age. This is also confirmed by inscriptions engraved on pillars which show that about the close of the twelfth century many Brahmana families contributed money to erect the various portions of the temple. The temple of Sachya-matā, though originally perhaps as old as the 8th century, the time when the Jaina temple was built, cannot certainly as it stands, be placed earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. Behind the temple are the ruins of some out-houses. On two of the pillars of these are engraved two inscriptions of the same import. They are dated *Saṃvat 1245 Phalgunā sudi 7* and record the gift of her own house, for use as a stable for keeping Mahārāja's chariot, by one Saṃpurna-Śravikā, daughter of Pālhyā, daughter-in-law of Devachandana and wife of Yaśōdhara.

Beside and almost touching the temple of Sachya-matā is another facing the west, with a long *abhyamandapa* (Plat. MIV b). The pillars of the porch in front of the shrine are carved, but those of the *abhyamandapa* are plain and are of the same type as those of the temple of Piplāstī, below. The door of the shrine also is of the ~~same~~ style as of those below, but here immediately above Garuda holding the tails of serpents are only seven of the *Naragraha*, the first and last, *i.e.*, Surya and Śani, being clearly marked by lotus flowers and by a leaf respectively. Another peculiarity is that the plasters projecting from the sides of the shrine door are carved with figures of warriors and not with female dancers as is usually the case. Above the warriors are Saṃkarṣaṇa-Baṇarāja on the proper right and Vāma-Īśa-Vishṇu on the proper left respectively. In the centre of the shrine porch are represented, amidst the coils of serpents, two persons, one male playing on a bamboo flute and the other female holding a lotus and looking at him. They cannot be Naga-figures as their heads are not encircled by hoods. Can they be Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā? The principal niche on the north outside wall of the shrine is empty, but those facing the south and east are occupied by Gaṇeśa and Surya respectively. It deserves to be noticed that Temple No. 7 below the hill has figures of Vasudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa on the shrine plasters, whilst Gaṇapati and Surya are placed in the south and back principal niches on the exterior. The north niche in the latter case holds an image of Mahāśāsana-mārkaṇḍeya who must have similarly been figured in the empty niche here. Of the remaining figures on the exterior we have one of Andharīśvara on the north side. It has four hands, one of the male half and one of the female half being broken off. The remaining hand of the male half holds a trident and of the female a mirror. On the male side below in the corner is Nandi. On the east wall is a singular figure, seated with two hands, one above the other and placed between the soles of the feet and with the head encircled by a seven-hooded cobra. On the palm of the upper hand is a lotus mark.

On the proper left of the temple just described is a shrine facing the north. On the lintel over the entrance to the sanctum, in the centre, Vishṇu, seated on Garuda, and on his proper right are Gaṇapati and three of the *Śapta-mātṛ* or Seven Divine Mothers, and on his left the remaining four of the latter. Above, on the frieze, are the *Naragraha* and on the right of Surya is a god seated with four hands, two placed one above the other on the feet and the other two holding a snake which is wound round his neck. On the left of Ketu is a female sucking a child. On the projecting

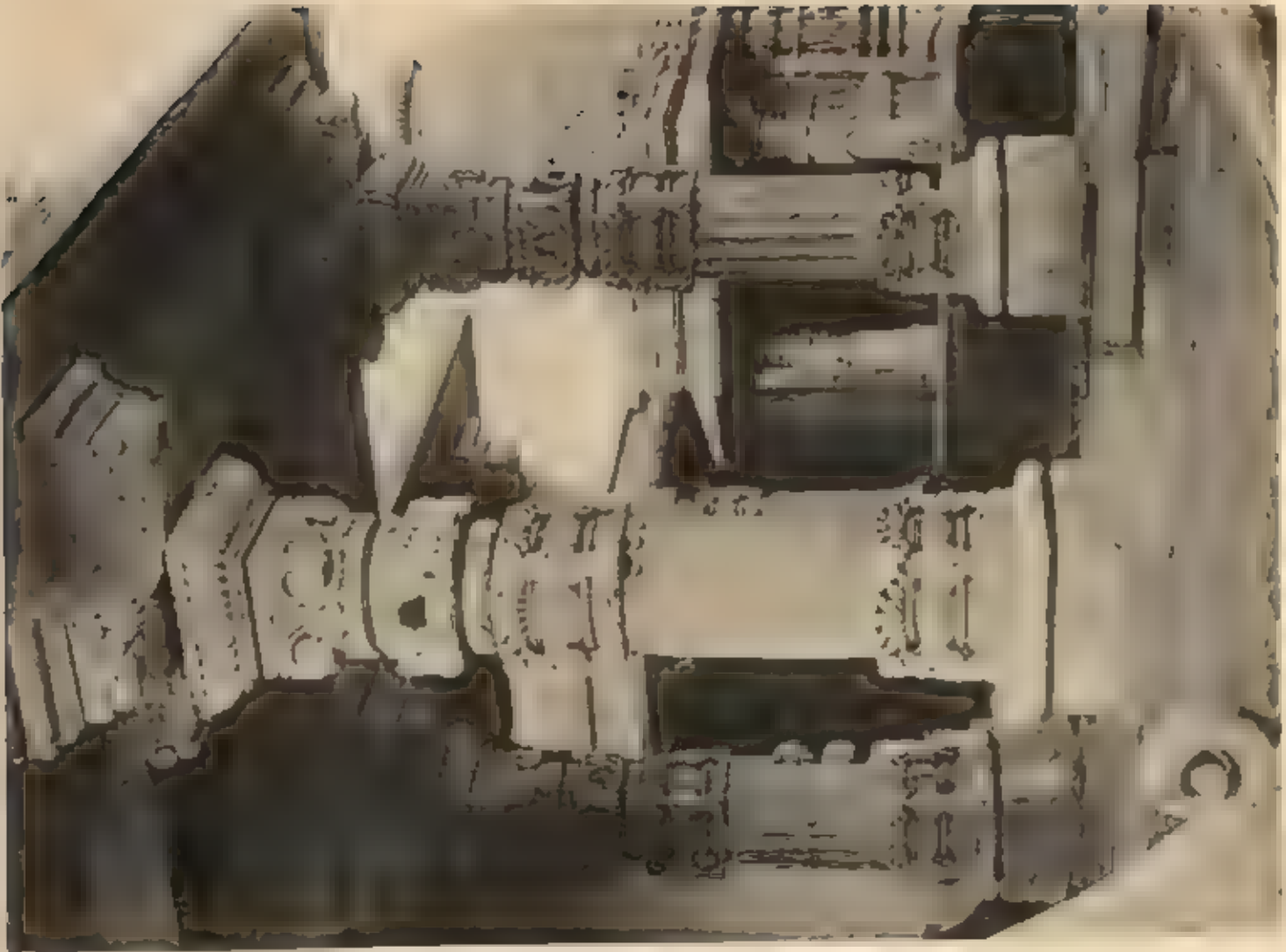


FIGURE 1. Temple of Amenhotep III, Thebes, Egypt.



FIGURE 2. Temple of Amenhotep III, Thebes, Egypt.





pilasters of the shrine are two males, that on the proper right is Chandra as indicated by the crescent, and the other unidentifiable. The exterior of the shrine holds Varaha, Narasimha and Lakshmi-Narayana in the principal niches on the east, south and west faces respectively. On the east wall is a curious figure in which the images of Vishnu, Śiva, Brahmā and Surya are blended. It has three heads, the central wearing a coronet and the side ones matted hair. It wears boots. It originally had eight hands, which are now all broken off but the objects held in the upper hands can be seen. They are a lotus and a trident on the proper right and a lotus and a discus on the left. On the right side of its feet are a small standing figure and Nandi and the swan, the vehicles of Śiva and Brahmā, and on the left, two standing figures with a horse between them.

On the proper right side of the temple of Sachya-Mata are two shrines facing the south. They are almost exactly alike. Above the lintel in the centre is Vishnu and at the ends to his proper right and left are Brahma and Śiva. The intervening spaces are filled with the *Narayana* and other figures including two horse-faced ones which no doubt represent the Hayagrīva *avatara* of Vishnu. The pillars of the porches are of a late pot-and-foilage type, apparently of about the 11th century. The exteriors of the sancta hold Lakshmi-Narayana, Varaha and Narasimha, in the principal niches on the east, north and west. Of the remaining figures, one on the east wall is noteworthy as in it Brahmā, Śiva, Vishnu and Surya are combined, as referred to in the description of the preceding temple. On the north wall is Kubera with four hands, two of them holding a money bag round his neck. He has here a ram for his vehicle. On the west wall, Nirriti is sculptured nude and with a snake round his waist. He has four hands, bearing a sword, thunderbolt, a cup and a human skull.

There are a few more shrines round about, both on the hill and below it, but being of no particular interest they are not described here. Our gain both from the architectural and iconographic points of view is not inconsiderable. The temples of Ōsia may be classified under three heads: (1) those which were constructed in the 8th and 9th centuries, (2) those which were erected in the 11th and (3) those which were built or rather rebuilt in the 13th century. Nearly all the temples situated below the hill are of the first kind. The style of these faças closely resembles that of the temples found at Éran and Pathari in the Central Provinces and Cluturgadh, Āmvāri and Jhalrāpātan in Rājputanā, especially with regard to the following three members: (1) pillars, (2) door-frames and (3) spires. By far the best and earliest pillars found at Ōsia are from the porch of the Jaina temple (Plate XLIII *b*). The fluted square cushion caps of these are found in the cave temples. So also is the ornamental vase with the heavy scrolls of richly carved foliage escaping from its mouth at the four corners of the pillars. Fortunately we have got a date fixed for the temple, which, as the inscription tells us, existed in the time of Vatsarāja who belonged to the imperial Pratihara dynasty and flourished about A. D. 770-800. The pillars may, therefore, be safely referred to the last quarter of the 8th century. This agrees with what Cunningham says with regard to the portico pillars of a Vaishnava temple at Éran, which according to him "is more modern by at least two or three centuries than the Boar temple." The Boar temple has to be referred to about 500 A.D., and the

Vaishnava temple is thus brought down to the 8th century. The shafts of these pillars are in some cases round with sixteen flutings as in the present instance or are left plain and square (Plate XLIII). Sometimes, however, we notice a free use of the *Kirtimukha* ornament with bells and chains hanging down the shafts. We have only a few instances in the case of Ūśā temples, though they are by no means uncommon elsewhere. Sometimes the central parts of the sides of these square shafts are carved into floral bands. Pieces of this pattern may be seen in Temple No. 7 and exist also in the temple of Kālikā Mātā in Chitōrgadhī. This last temple is perhaps the earliest of all the structures of this style whose beams and pillars are heavier and more massive than those of others, and remind one very much of the *Kaṭasa* and *Indrasabā* at Eloorā. A further development of this style of columns is shown by the two pillars and pilasters of the shrine porch of the Pipla-dēvi temple. I have already stated that these have not received their last finish as is quite clear from the chisel marks left on the shafts and bases. Their later age is no doubt indicated by the three recessed corners, which came into vogue in later times. These pillars, however, cannot be much later; for they are certainly almost exactly like the pillars of the Jagesvara temple at Sādhari in Gujrat of the Jodhpur State and may be even a little earlier.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions engraved on the latter show that they belonged originally to a temple built by Lakshmana, who was the founder of the Marwar branch of the Chāhamanas and who lived circa 982 A.D. The pillars of the Pipla-dēvi may consequently be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century at the latest.

The characteristics of the door-frames of this period may now be noted. The first point that attracts attention is that very often, on the innermost and sometimes on the second mouldings we find Nāga figures with heads forked, their snake tails follow the sides and the hotel, in the centre of which a Gārtadā is found who holds the rods and who sometimes carries a figure of Vishnu. Another moulding is broken up into a number of panels usually containing pairs of lovers. To the right and left at the lower corners of the doorway invariably stand the two figures of Ganga and Yamuna,—the former on her crocodile and the latter on her tortoise. In the early temples these goddesses are generally seated at the top of the door-jambes, but in later times, i.e., from the 7th to the 10th century they came to be figured at the bottom. After the 10th century they almost entirely disappear. These characteristics of the door-frame are always found in combination with the style of pillars just described. They are met with in temples not only in Rājputana, but also in Central India and the Central Provinces.

Very little need be said with respect to the spires of the Ūśā temples, because there exists hardly any temple of this period anywhere else, which has its spire preserved. Those of the Ūśā temples assume the earlier form of the Gujarat spire, and represent a transition type between those of Bhuvanśvar and those of the Chalukyan (Solanki) period.

The work of this period is bold, deep and vigorous, showing great confidence of touch, contrasting favourably with the work of the 11th century and after, when it is shallow, lacking in vigour and often purposeless in design. The pot-and-foliage style

<sup>1</sup> *Progress Report A. S., Western Circle for 1908*, p. 67.



a TEMPLE OF SACHIYĀ MĀTĀ FR. N. NORTH-WEST



b SHRINE LOOK TO .F SACHIYĀ MĀTĀ





of pillars is not extinct till the 11th or even the 12th century. But then the capitals become conventionalised, and no longer present a realistic appearance. Besides, the carving is neither deep nor crisp, and such pillars are generally short and rest on the marginal stone benches of the halls and porches. This style is represented by the two pillars which stand immediately over the entrance of the *nāṭh-mātā-lapa* of the Jaina temple and in those of the subsidiary shrines round this and the Sachyā-mātā temple. Pillars of this pattern may be noticed in the celebrated temple of Modhara in north Gujarat, which has been assigned by Dr Burgess to the early part of the 11th century.<sup>1</sup> The pillars of this period are represented by the columns of the *torāṇa*, which stands in front of the Jaina temple. This is indicated not only by the date V. E. 1075, = A.D. 1018, inscribed in it, but also by its style, which closely resembles that of the four pillars of the *śaḥkuntā-lapa* of the Modhara temple just referred to, and also of Vimala Śaṣṭi temple of Mount Ābū. Vimala Śaṣṭi we know was a *dandanīyaka* of the Chaulukya sovereign, Bhama I, and he constructed the temple in V. E. 1088 = A.D. 1031. A similar change is observable in the shrine-door of this period. The moldings of the door arch in old times were almost always in the same level, but from the 11th century onwards we notice that the central moulding often projects. The goddesses Gaurī and Yamunā are conspicuous by their absence, and so also the fides of serpents on the door panels. The pairs of lovers are now replaced by gods and goddesses—the pearls. All these characteristics may be found at Ōsa also in the doors of the subsidiary shrines of the Jaina and Sachyā-mātā temples and elsewhere such as Modhara, Mount Ābū and wherever temples of this period have survived.

The general archaeological knowledge may now be briefly summed up. Most of the temples, as we have seen, are Vāshuvāva. But it is curious that there is not a single temple extant at Ōsa where the ten incarnations of Vāshva are sculptured on the door stones or any part of the temple as we find them at Śārapar and other ancient sites. We do, however, find some of the incarnations carved on the outside walls of the shrine or the terraces. They are Varaha, Narasimha, Trivikrama, Krishna-Balarāma and Baladeha. This last is important, for it enables us to assert, as I have seen above, that Budha had been excluded from the Brāhminic pantheon as early as the 9th century. The Vamaśa *arāṭura* has never in any temple here been figured as a single dwarf with an umbrella as we see it elsewhere, but is always represented by his further development of Trivikrama. In this connection it is of great interest that here the images of even Krishna and Balarāma are met with. There can be no doubt about the latter's identification as he holds his characteristic attributes, *viz.*, the ploughshare and the club. His head also is encircled by a five-hooded serpent. This is quite in keeping with the mythological belief that regards him as an incarnation of Śeṣha. Balarāma appears twice on the projecting plasters of the shrines—once in Temple No. 7 and again in the temple close beside Sachyā-mātā. On one plaster Balarāma is sculptured, and on the other a deity with four hands bearing a conch, discus, mace and lotus. Ordinarily this last would have been called Viṣṇu, but as he is placed in conjunction with Balarāma, he must be identified with Vasudēva-Krishna. There are no other traces of Krishna at Ōsa, but in the porch ceiling of the temple close beside Sachyā-mātā just referred to there are carved two figures

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 81 and Plate VII.



which appear to be Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. If my conjecture is correct, this would be an interesting fact. Another incarnation of Viṣṇu, which, however, is not included in the famous ten, is Hayagrīva, which is found on the door lintels of the two sister shrines on the proper right side of Sacchya-mata's temple. These shrines, however, cannot be earlier than the 11th century.

There is only one temple which appears to have been dedicated to Śiva. This I infer only from the fact that he occupies the place of honour on the door of the shrine. On the door-lintels of Vaiṣṇava shrines he is always placed on the proper left of Viṣṇu. Except as Ardhanaṛīśvara and as Iśa, the guardian of the north-east direction, he does not appear on the outside walls of the shrines under any form. And this image of Ardhanaṛīśvara is carved only in the temple near Sacchya-mata's. But the scene of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī is found sculptured in a subsidiary shrine of Temple No. 2. This sculpture is, as stated above, as rare as ancient. The third god of the Hindu triad is Brahmā, who figures both on the doors and outside walls of the shrines. Brahmā is here always represented with one head and with or without beard. There is hardly an ancient Hindu temple at Osia which has not the *Naragraha* carved on the frieze of the shrine doors. The first of these, *viz.*, Sūrya, has no less than two temples dedicated to him, if the image in the central niche of the back wall is to be taken as a criterion. One son of Sūrya is Śam, who occupies a place in the *Naragraha* sculptures only. Another is Rēvanta, who, curiously enough, is no less than three times figured, twice on the subsidiary shrines of Temples Nos. I and II and once in Temple No. VII itself. The second member of the *Naragraha* is Chandra, the Moon, who also appears not only on the exteriors of central and subsidiary shrines, but also in the projecting plasters of the shrines. He is shown in one case as supported by two birds and not by ten horses which are his true *rahana*. I have nowhere else except at Osia met with any image of Chandra.

The principalities of the Brahmanic pantheon are Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. Brahmanism never regards them as strict entities, but often fuses two or more into one form. The *Trimūrti* or Triad consisting of the first three gods is too well-known to require any mention. Sometimes Viṣṇu and Śiva alone are combined into what is known as Haridhara, many of whose images have been found at Osia, as will have been seen from the above description of the temples. In fact, Temples Nos. I and II seem to have been dedicated to this Haridhara, as his image is found in the principal niche of the back wall. Sometimes, however, these four gods, *viz.*, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya, are blended into one. Such images are found in later times only. At any rate they have not yet been traced in temples prior to the 11th century. We find them actually sculptured in the shrines round about Sacchya-mata's temple and in many other temples at such places as Dilmīl in north Gujarat, Bhaval in the Jōdhpur State and so forth.

The *Aṣṭa-dīkpatas* now remain to be considered. In the old temples they are represented with only two hands, but in the later, with four. The *vāhana*s of these Regents of the Quarters are not fixed. Nirṛti is once (Temple No. I) given the horse as his *rahana* and not the man. Similarly, Varuṇa once appears with the peacock and not the crocodile as his vehicle. But the greatest confusion is observable

with regard to the *rohana* of Kubēra. His true *rohana* appears to be the man, as is clear from his epithet *Nara-rohana* and he is undoubtedly sculptured in Temple No. I with the man by his side and in Temples Nos. 2 and 6 as on a platform upheld by the man. In Temple No. 10 however, he has the bull beside him. And in the sister shrines on the proper right of Sachiyū-mātā's temple his *rohana* is shown to be the ram. In no less than three other temples in Rajputānā, Kubera is represented with the ram as his *rohana*. Here Kubera appears only as the guardian of the North Quarter. But he is also the god of riches, and what is worthy of note in this connection is the promise given to him, as god of riches, as he is figured not only here but elsewhere with Ganeśa, the god of good luck, on the lintels of the shrine doors (e.g., Temples Nos. I and II) in the interior of the sancta (e.g., Temple of Piplā-devī) on the outer walls of the shrine (e.g., shrine between Temples Nos. III and IV) and on the front walls of the raised terraces on which the temples stand. At Sakral in Śekhavāti, Jajpur State, an inscription dated V E 879 (= A.D. 822) has been found, the initial portion of which is an invocation of the blessings of three deities, viz. Ganeśa, Chandika and Kubera. What is worthy of note is that Chandika is here placed between Ganeśa and Kubera. This reminds me of the figures on the pedestal in the shrine of Piplā-devī's temple at Ōsū, of which the central figure is that of Mahishāsuramardin, a form of Chandikā flanked by Kubera and Garuḍa.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

## EPIGRAPHY.<sup>1</sup>



**D**URING the period under review three parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued, *viz.*, Parts IV, V and VI of Volume IX. In his article entitled "Three Early Brahmi inscriptions," Professor Liders has published (1) an epigraph of the Kashmiri king Kirtishk created in the year 10—2 of the era of Visvashka<sup>2</sup> of the same family dated in the year 714; and (2) one of the time of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Samudra. The first is inscribed on the lower half of a sculptured stone preserved in one of the cases of the "northern gallery of the British Museum." The sculpture on the top of the stone bears two figures—male and female, sitting on a bench. The concluding words of the first poem seem to refer to the temple of a goddess. Professor Liders, therefore, thinks it very probable that the sculpture represents a Naga and Nagi. That there were temples in Northern India for the worship of serpents during the Kṣatrapa period is borne out by two Māgadh inscriptions which mention the temple (*sthāna*) of the Naga-*vra* Dādihikarna and a servant at the temple of the same Dādihikarna.

The late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Mount Abu-Vaṇḍa temple inscription. The chief point of interest in it is the statement that the temple had been founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vmāda, who had been appointed, *daṇḍapāṭi* at Ardhra, *i.e.*, Morat. Âlô by the Chavunkya Bhīmāditya I. A number of other inscriptions of Mount Abu are briefly reviewed at the beginning of the article. Professor Kielhorn's *Notes for South-Indian chronology* conclude with two articles, one on the dates of Chola kings and the other on those of the Pandyas. With his usual passion for coming to perfection whatever he undertook, he has also furnished a summary of his researches into Chola and Pandya chronology.

The Pathera pillar inscription of Parabola-chō, by the same scholar reveals the existence, in the second half of the 9th century A.D., of a Rashtrakuta family in a portion of Central India. Parabola's father Karkaraja is said to have defeated a king named Nāgavaluka, while the elder brother of

<sup>1</sup> Some of the most important epigraphs discovered since 1906 have been noticed above under Epigraphy and Research.

<sup>2</sup> It remains uncertain whether the name of the king in this inscription is Vāṇabha or Vāṇadēva.

Karkarāja's father claims to have taken possession of the Lāta kingdom after defeating the Karmās. The other articles of Professor Kridhorn relate to the Balāghat plates of the Vakataka king Prithvisena II, and the Orissa plates of Vidyāharabhadraśjadēva.

Mr. Bhandarkar has edited the Vasanigadh inscription of Varmalata dated [Vakrama]-Samvat 682 = A.D. 625. This Varmalata has been identified by Professor Kridhorn with his namesake mentioned in some of the manuscripts of the Sanskrit poem *Svapilaradha* as the king under whom Magha's grandfather Suprabhadra is said to have held the office of prime minister. The Sanskrit poet Magha would thus belong to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In the Dardatāla plates of Śankaragata, dated Śaka-Samvat 715, Mr. Bhandarkar finds that a portion of the inscription has been forged by "beating the plates and beating in the letters or gradually engraving." The hero Śaṅkaravalka Śrī-Śankaragamarāja was the son of Śrī-Nama, the paternal uncle of the Rāshtrakūṭa king (Dhruva) Varuṇa.

Of the Pratihāras, three records are published by Mr. Bhandarkar, two of Kakkuka Samvat 918 and one of Nāgabhūṭadeva Samvat 872. One of the former is interesting, as it informs us that the village of Rōhimsakōpaka (Ghatiyāra) has formerly become desolate on account of the Alḥars, whose predatory incursions are not quite extinct even to the present day. The village seems to have been deserted on this account but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by bringing over the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had destroyed all forests. The Alḥars.

Pondit Hira Lal's contributions throw out considerable light on the history of Bastar in the Central Provinces and the adjacent country about which almost nothing was hitherto known. His researches have disclosed the existence of a branch of the Nagas ruling over Bastar, and he has also located the province called Chakrakōṭa Śakraka-kōṭa in Tanjūr inscriptions, which the Cholas of Pāṇḍya claim to have subdued. Of Mahāśīdeva of Śaraḥpura, two copper plates are published, one from Khurda in the Raipur District by Dr. Kanungo and the other from Sagarjūh in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces, by Pandit Hira Lal. Of the Somavanshi kings of Kosala, Pandit Hira Lal publishes two copper plates and a stone inscription. He thinks there can be little doubt that the family owed allegiance probably to the Mauryas of South Kosala, as the use of the Kalachuri era in two of the records would indicate.

Mr. K. B. Patnāk has published the Kenbur plates dated in Śaka-Samvat 672 of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II, the historical portion of which is almost identical with that of the Vakataka plates of the same king critically edited by Professor Kridhorn. Professor Hultzsch has republished with a stereotype plate the Tremāra rock inscription of the Chola king Rājendra-Chola I. (A.D. 1012-42), whose extensive conquests are described in the historical introduction with which the inscription opens. In his paper on the Annakouja inscription of the Kākatiya king Proha (A.D. 1117) Mr. Krishna Sastri has ascertained the origin of the family and the conquests of Proha. Mr. Sewell has contributed a note on Bhojabala Maharāja, Mr. Gopinātha Basu an article on the Mandali plate of the Varmāna king Śrīvalayavarmā (A.D. 973) and Mr. R. D. Banerjī a paper on the Patālikā grant of Śivarāja (Gupta-Samvat 283).



During the year under review, three more natural caverns with rock-cut beds and Brāhmi inscriptions were discovered in the hills at Perupparañgugram, Alagar-malai and Kuggakkudi in the Madurai District of the Madras Presidency. The first two also bear later Jaina sculptures and inscriptions. These rock-cut beds and Brāhmi inscriptions are, in all probability, Buddhist monuments, though no unmistakable traces of that creed have so far been found in any of the caverns of the Tamil country.

Mr. Rea has found a gold coin of the Gupta king Samudragupta during his excavations at Śankaram in the Vizagapatam District and Dr. Vogel a broken stone image said to have come from Kanauj at Farrukhabad with a votive inscription in the Gupta alphabet.

Dr. Bloch mentions an inscription in characters of the 6th or 7th century A.D. on the coping stone of the rock-cut railing at Bodhi-Gayā. It refers to the fact of the plaster and painting (*gandha-lepna*) over the temple having been restored and to the *vajrasana gandhakuti* as a building separate from the temple (*corasala*). The former term perhaps refers to some shrine near the temple which contained an image of Vajrāsana (*i.e.*, Buddha).<sup>1</sup>

Among the inscriptions preserved in the Ajmer Museum is a stone originally found at Sārah in the Bikaner District, Mewar. It is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 703 = A.D. 646 and belongs to the reign of Śīlāditya, who is identified with Śīla, one of the earliest Gahāda kings. Two records of the Paramāras have been newly acquired for the Ajmer Museum, one belonging to Chānuṇḍarāja and the other to his son Vijayarāja. The former is undated, but an inscription from Aithur noticed by the late Professor Kielhorn and belonging to the reign of Chānuṇḍarāja is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1136. The date of Vijayarāja is Vikrama-Samvat 1166.

According to local traditions, the fort at Jālor in Southern Mārwar was first held by the Paramāras, and the town afterwards became the capital of the Chohān kings. The earliest inscription found in Jālor is that of a Paramāra king named Visala dated Samvat 1174. Here we are told that Mallarādī, queen of Visala, presented a golden cupola to the temple of Sindhurajestara. The names of six predecessors of Visala are also given, and it may therefore be presumed that the Paramāra family held sway over Jālor from about 997 A.D.

Two inscriptions of the time of the Chaulukya king Kumārāpala have been found by Mr. Bhandarkar, one at Nactar and the other at Jālor in the Jodhpur State. In the arsenal (*topkhānā*) at Jālor which was originally a mosque built from materials obtained by demolishing Hindu and Jaina temples, is an epigraph which refers to a temple of Parśvanātha under the name Kuvara-vihara. The temple was built in Vikrama Samvat 1221 by the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārāpala, who was enlightened by Śrī-Hemasūri on the fort of Kāmchanagin belonging to Jālālpara (Jālor). The only old portions of this temple now left are the outside walls of the shrine. Mr. Bhandarkar thinks they are certainly of the Soṅkī period and could very well have been built in the time of Kumārāpala. The temple was evidently desecrated at a later period and the sculptures carried off to build the mosque. Subsequently it was rebuilt and dedicated to Mahāvīra about Samvat 1681, during the time of the Mahārāja Śrī-Gajasimhaji.



of the Rathod family and Surasingha lineage, by Jayamalap<sup>1</sup>, who was an Ośāl Munoyat. It is worthy of note here that the chronicle known as *Muta-Nenaji-ri khyat* was composed by Nainasi, son of Jayamalap. The Nadol inscription mentioned above furnishes the latest date for Kumarapāla, *viz.*, Vikrama-Samvat 1228, the earliest date of his successor Ajayapala, *viz.*, 1229 being furnished by an Udaypur epigraph.

As in previous years, Mr. Bhandarkar's tour in Rajputana has resulted in the discovery of some interesting Chahamanā inscriptions. In the Saraj Pol or "Gateway of the Sun" at Nādol which is said to have been built by Rav Lākhan is a much defaced inscription on which the date 1039 and the name Lāshā khāna can be just made out. According to other Chahamanā records, the founder of the Mārwar branch of the Chahamanas was Lakshmana, who was the son of Vakpatirāja of Śākambhari. At Anwa in the Jodhpur State is the temple of Kameśvara which may be assigned to the 9th century A.D. The temple is locally noted for the *chandi* or self-immolation of the Chārams which took place in Vikrama-Samvat 1643 A.D. 1586. The earliest inscription found in the *sabhamandapa* of this temple records a gift by the Songarī prince Jundrapāla, son of Anahita, in Samvat 1132. Per his son Jajaladeva we have the date Samvat 1147, and Rajapala is represented by several inscriptions ranging in date from Samvat 1189 to 1202. Two of them from Nādol deserve to be mentioned. One dated Samvat 1198 registers an agreement taken from 16 brāhmanas of Dhālop, about 4 miles south of Nādol, two from each of the 8 *poth* or wards of Dhālop. The agreement was to the effect that if anything was lost belonging to a Chat, Dhātputra, daivārika, merchant or vānīar, while passing by Dhālop, the 16 brāhmanas were to trace the property or make good the loss. If it was lost in any particular ward the brāhmanas responsible for that ward were to make the recompense. The second, dated in Samvat 1200, reports that a certain chief (raṇaka) Bhimara belonging to the Karnata country freed the dancing girls of Uśapo-pattana from the tax called *dakabhūtha*. Rajapala's sons by Amṛadevi were Rudrapala and Amṛatapala. Several inscriptions of Kothaga have been found with dates ranging from Samvat 1220 to 1236.

It was Kirtipala who probably reigned between Samvat 1236 and 1239, that removed the Chahamanā capital from Nādol to Jālahipura, *i.e.*, Jālor. Apparently, Kirtipala began the fortifications of Jālor but did not live long enough to complete them. His son Samantasinha is credited in the Sandhā hill inscription with the building of extensive ramparts on the Kanakachala, *i.e.*, the fort hill of Jālor. The Kuvera viharā built during the reign of the Chaulukya king Kumarapala was rebuilt in Vikrama-Samvat 1242 by the *bhamelari* Yaśovirāṇa in accordance with the orders of the *Maharaja Samantasimha* of the Chahamanā family. Of Chāchigadeva we have an inscription in the arsenal (*topkhana*) at Jālor dated in Samvat 1423. After him came the *maharajakula* Samantasimha who was reigning at Savarnagiri in Samvat 1353. Jālor continued to be the capital of the Chahamanas until Vikrama Samvat 1355=A.D. 1298, when Sāmantasimha was king. This date is furnished by an inscription found at Chohṭan which refers itself to the conjoint reigns of Sāmān-

<sup>1</sup>From an inscription the name of Padm-senacharya a Jain temple at Nādol in Samvat 1686 during the reign of the Rāga Jagatsimha. The former was residing at Yādhapuranagara, *i.e.* the city of Jodhpur.

tasimha and his son Kāṇhadadeva. Though no inscriptions of the latter have been found so far,\* there can be no doubt that he was king for a short time at least, as he is twice referred to in the *Tawarikh-i-Furughah*. Jālor was probably occupied by the Muhammadans shortly before A.D. 1309, when Kāṇhadadeva was slain and his family put to the sword. The son of Kāṇhadadeva was Viramadeva, by whom the old *koohari* at Jālor is said to have been built. *Viramadev-ki-chauki* at Jālor is nothing but a raised platform where Viramadeva intended to raise a *chhatra*. But this was never done. A century and a half later he is mentioned in a Nāgar inscription of Samvat 1443 where apparently later members of the Chahamanya family†

The Achaleshwar-Deopala mosque at Ajmer was built from materials belonging to a Brahmanical temple. In plan it is no unlike the *topadina* at Jālor. It was in the former mosque that two inscribed tablets (removed to the Lucknow Museum) were found containing the two legends *Tulita-Vyagrahara, a-nutaka* and *Harakela-nafaka*. In the walls of the two stair-cases above the *mihrab* of the mosque are two lines of writing which show that the original temple, whose materials were utilized for the mosque, had been built by the Chahamanya king Vyagrahara (Vasudeva) of Sakambhari. Of the Rāna Kumābhakara, who flourished in the 15th century, a few facts have been recorded by Mr. Bhattacharya. An inscription from Kumbhgarh informs us that Kumābhakara ascended upon the throne of the god Hanuman. He seems to have taken great pains to collect inscriptions of his family in order to prepare a reliable genealogy. If Kumābhakara is correctly supposed to have built the Mārudeva temple at Kumbhgarh. But Mr. Bhattacharya thinks it was originally a Jain temple but was afterwards deeded by the Rāna Kumābhakara with Brahmanical images in Vikrama-Samvat 1515-16 = A.D. 1458-59. The Beldi near the Rān-pot at Kumbhgarh is also said to have been built by Rāna Kumābhakara, probably in commemoration of the completion of the fort, when he offered a sacrifice.

A Nāgar inscription of Samvat 1557 sets forth the genealogy of the Mewar dynasty. Of the earlier princes Śahitya, Gahadatta and Khammarā are mentioned. Of the later, Hanra, Khetesha, Lakshmanā, Mokṣa and Kumābhakara are referred to. The son of the last was Rājammalla, to whose reign the inscription belongs. Under reigns of Rājammalla, the eldest son of Rājammalla, an image of Aśmatta was installed in Vikrama-Samvat 1577 (= A.D. 1501).

The Chahamanya of Jaisalmer, in Bikaner-land are represented by a copper-plate grant of the reign of Parikramaditya, dated in Samvat 1233. The inscription will be published by Professor Venis in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

During the period under review, Mr. Krishna Sastri copied Palaya inscriptions at four villages in the Chingleput District. The rock-cut cave at Pallāvaran, near Māras contains *brahṇa* similar to those engraved in the upper cave at Trichinopoly, and may be assigned to the Pallava king Mahēndravarmā I. On the hill at Turak-

\* The identity of Kāṇhadadeva with the Kāṇhadadeva mentioned in the *Tawarikh-i-Furughah* is not proved by the inscription found at Jālor.

† The Chahamanya Vīṇakara, son of Pāparya, who is mentioned with the date Samvat 1187 in a Nāgar inscription, is unknown from other records. Dama, son of Vijayapala, and Kaka, son of Somapala, are referred to in the same inscription. The date of the inscription is Samvat 1188 and that of the latter Samvat 1229. The family to which the *maheśvārādhipati* Samantashahāya, known from four inscriptions, was connected at 1208 is from the same family and the other three from Bāṇarā. The inscription is now in the possession of the Government.

Of the inscriptions of Vīṇakara found at the mosque, it is to be noted that they form part of the *prastāva* of the Chahamanya family.

kaikkulam is another monolithic cave which bears a fragmentary inscription of Vatapakonda Narasimappottarakar, i.e. Narasimhavarman I. The cave was probably excavated by him, or prior to his reign. In the Kandaswami temple at Tiruppur are two pillars on which are engraved some of the *brudars* of the Pallava king Rajasimha. The Vyāghrapariśvara temple at Vāyalar has a pillar which bears a Pallava inscription. It opens with the names Brahman, Angaras, Brihaspati, Śaṅkya, Bharaṅga, Deṇa, Asvatthaman and Paṇḍya, and then mentions Aśoka, Harisupta and Āryavarman among the ancestors of the Pallavas. The names or surnames of a number of kings are then registered without giving their relationship to one another. The following is a list of them: 1. Mahendravarmān, 2. Karanda (Kalindavarman?), 3. Vishnugopa (thrice), 4. Kumārasimha twice, (5) Balaḥvarman (twice), (6) Skandavarman (five times), (7) Simhavarman (four times), 8. Viravarman, and 9. Vindavarman. The inscription, in a subsequent passage, introduces Simhaviśnu and the following names, apparently in regular succession: Mahēndravarmān (I), Narasimhavarman (I), Mahēndravarmān II and Paramesvaravarman (I). His son was Rajasimha, who also bore the surname Kshatrasimha. It was apparently after the surname of this king that one of the shrines in the Shore temple at the Seven Pagodas was called Kshatriyasimha-Pallava-Īvara.

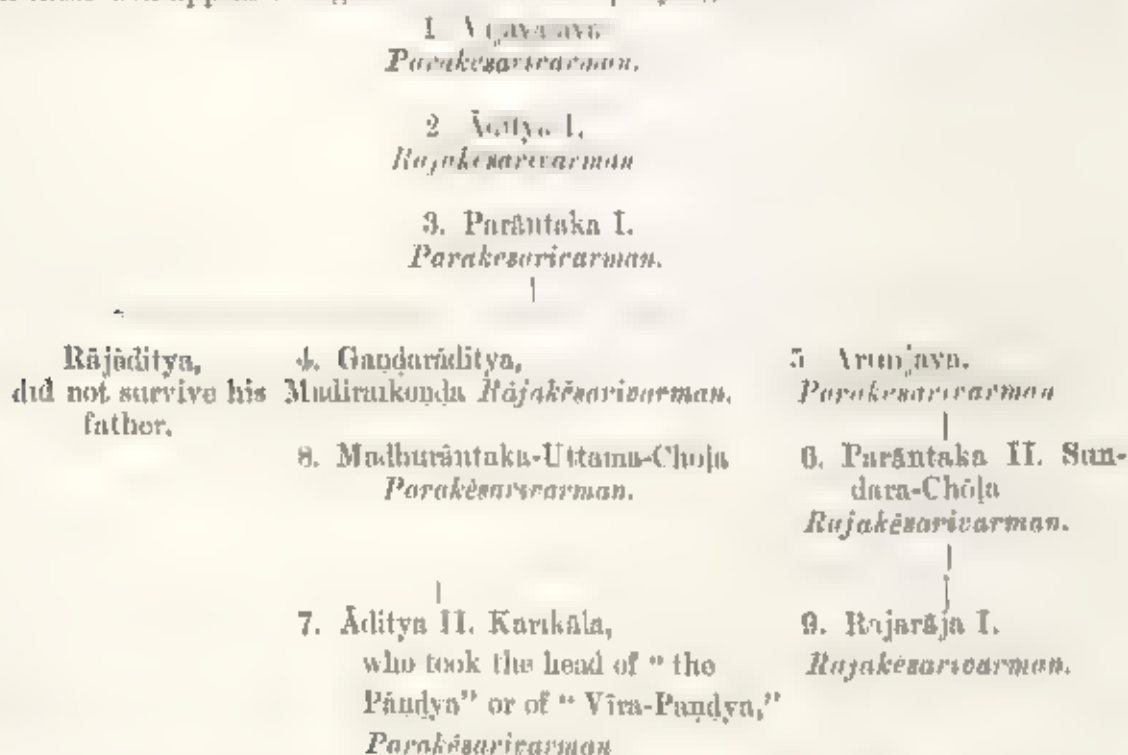
The Tiruppur and Vayalar pillars do not appear to belong to the temples where they are now found. It is, therefore, probable that they belonged originally to some Pallava temple which has not yet been traced. If this be the case, it would add to the number of structural monuments of the Pallava period which are not many.

Of the Ganga Pallavas, three inscriptions are registered, viz. one of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, another of Virpatungappottarayar and a third of Vijaya-Apariṣṭa.

Of the early Pandyas, four records have been traced, three belonging to Maruṭapandyā and the fourth to Varaguna-Maharaja. Two of the most valuable Pandya inscriptions are interesting. One of them dated in the reign of Tribhuvanaśaṅkara, Konaśkharadiva, states that the members of the assembly of a certain village wished to pay their respects to their king. They had to raise money for the purpose by offering to make certain temple-lands free from assessment in exchange for 120 *kāṇ* received from the tenants. Another record of the same reign registers an endowment for special offerings at the spot where a man was put to death by being tied to the leg of a he-buffalo and dragged for his crime of having murdered a brāhmana.

In the history of the Chōlas there are one or two points to which attention may be drawn. The interval between the death of Parantaka I and the accession of Rājaraja I. was occupied apparently by the reigns of six Chōla kings whose identity is discussed at length in the epigraphical report of the Southern Circle. The kings were called Rājakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman, alternately. We have a few facts which seem to offer a reasonable solution of the difficulties, if they are looked at in the proper light. In the first place, we have a successor of Parantaka I. named Madirakonda Rājakesarivarman, another called Sundara-Chōla Parantaka II, who seems to have been a Rājakesarivarman, a third called Parakesari-

varman, who took the head "of the Pāndya" or "of Vira-Pāndya" and a fourth known as Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka Parakēsarivarman. On the supposition that Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka I., reigned after his father under the designation Rājakēsarivarman, Mr. Krishna Sastri is obliged to conclude that the Chōla king who overcame Vira Pāndya could not have been Āditya Karikāla. But we know that Parāntaka I. reigned from A. D. 907 for about 16 years.<sup>1</sup> The battle of Takkolam must have taken place and prince Rājāditya must have been killed before A. D. 949-50. Consequently, it is very unlikely that Rājāditya reigned after his father.<sup>2</sup> If it is conceded that the Chōla prince Rājāditya never reigned after his father as an independent king, it becomes easy to explain the Chōla succession in the light of the available facts. As Parāntaka I. was a Parakēsarivarman, his successor Gandarāditya would be a Rājakēsarivarman, and I would attribute the inscriptions of Madirakonda Rājakēsarivarman to him. His son Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla, the immediate predecessor of the great Rājārāja, was a Parakēsarivarman. Gandarāditya's immediate successor Arimāya probably bore the title Parakēsarivarman, while Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōla, the son of the latter, must have been a Rājakēsarivarman.<sup>3</sup> His son Āditya II. Karikāla would, in that case, be called Parakēsarivarman. The great Rājārāja I. who claimed the Chōla crown from his elder brother Āditya Karikāla (and not from his immediate predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla, who was a usurper) called himself Rājakēsarivarman. All these will appear at a glance on the accompanying table.



Of Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla Parakēsarivarman a dated inscription has been

<sup>1</sup> We have the regnal year 1000 mentioned in his reign from him in the Toppal-insula (No. 15 of 1895).

<sup>2</sup> I may here mention that the year 2 with which he began his reign is mentioned in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 134. It cannot refer to the reign of Rājāditya, as it is evident that he died in the Rājārāja's reign. It is probably the second year after the occupation of the Toppal-insula by the Rājārāja king Krishna III.

<sup>3</sup> No. 209 of 1908 probably belongs to his reign.



found at Uyyakkondan-Tirunilai in the Trichanopoly District. It is dated in Śaka 901 and Kaliyuga 1080. This confirms the date found for I in at Tiruvadamaralur in the Tanjore District during the previous year.<sup>1</sup> One of the records of Kulottunga I (A. D. 1070 to 1118) copied during the year is interesting, as it decides a complicated question of caste and determines the professions to be followed by the *rathakāras*, who are described as the sons of *mahishyas* by *karai* women. On the strength of authorities like Yājñavalkya, Gaudama, Kaṭhina, Bāḥyana and others, the *brāhmins* (i.e. the learned brāhmins) of Rajaśrayasenatarvasamudgalan defined (1) a *rathakāra* as one born of a Kshatriya father by a Vaiśya mother (2) a *karai* as the daughter of a Vaiśya father by a Śūdra mother and (3) a *rathakāra* as the son of a *mahishya* father by a *karai* mother. They were permitted to adopt any of the following trades: (1) architecture, (2) building coaches and chariots, (3) erecting *apūras* of temples with images in them, (4) manufacture of implements required for Brāhminical sacrifices, (5) building *mandapas*, (6) making crowns for kings, such as diadems, bracelets, *etc.*

At Śālikaram in the Vizagapatnam District Mr. Fletcher found a number of copper coins with the legend, *Vishnugoudha* which was a surname of the first Eastern Chahavāṅga Viśhnavardhana I. Eight of the copper plates excavated by Mr. Krishna Sastri belong to the Eastern Chodiyā dynasty and to the following kings: Gurak-Vijayadeva III, Tada II, Arima II, Vijayadeva Chodiyā-Bhadrā I, Kok-Varmā-Maharāja, Kakub-Maharāja, Mahā-Vijayadeva II, and Kakub-Vikramaditya Bhadrakā. The last four kings are unknown from other sources. The language in the grants of the first two of the latter is so full of mistakes that the text appears to have been drawn up and engraved by an illiterate man. One of these two refers to the territorial division Madhyama-Kalinga, when Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies with the Madagadha of Megasthenes. The grant of Chodiyā-Bhadrā refers to Elanadich-Kongalā and to Devanashtravilaya. Devanashtra with its king Kūbēra is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription among the provinces conquered by the Gupta king Samudragupta.

Two other copper plates of the southern collection require to be noticed. One of them belongs to the time of Indrayantra of the family of the Vishnukungas, who were devotees of the form of Śrī-Pārvatī (described by Professor K. K. Cheluvu with Śrīkara in the Kurnool District). The other is dated during the reign of the Eastern Gōṅga-king Vijayakṣa III, and was issued from Dantapura in Śaka 967. This is the earliest known record of the king.

At the instance of Dr. K. Now, the Assistant Superintendent of the Southern Circle deputed a number of his establishment to copy the inscriptions of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces. Of the 15 inscriptions of the Śindas copied on this tour, eight are in the Teluga and seven in the Nāgarī alphabet. The following is the list of Śinda kings of Bastar derived from them:

Jagadekulhishana Mahārāja [Dhārāvārsha<sup>2</sup>] Śaka 982 Śārvarin, Śaka 983,

Śārvarin; Śaka 984.

Sōmēśvaradēva, Śaka 1019, Iśvara; Rajabhūshana-Mahārājādhirāja

Sōmēśvaradēva, Saumya [i.e., Śaka 992].

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R. for 1907-08, p. 250.



Kanharadeva, son of Rājabhūshana-Mahārāja Somēśvaradēva and grandson of Rājabhūshana-Mahārāja Dhātavarshadeva and Guṇḍa-Mahadēvi, Śaka 1033, Khara.

Mahārāja-Narasīnghadeva, Śaka 1140; Jagadekabhūshana-Mahārāja *alias* Narasīghadēva-Mahārāja, Śaka 1147.

Jagadekabhūshana-Mahārāja *alias* Somēśvaradeva Chakravartin of the Nagpur Museum inscription, whose date is Śaka-Samvat 1130, must have reigned between Kanharadeva and Narasīnghadeva of the foregoing list. Dikpālādēva, Dattāyadeva and Bhairamadeva of the present ruling dynasty of Bastar are also represented in the inscriptions of the State.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period we find an inscription of Virupakṣa I from Tiruvannulala referring to Kāvīrppanobhuttam in Rājādhiraja-valanadu. A stone inscription of Śrīgṛnātha Udayar, son of Vīra-Vijayadhipati, has been copied at Valuvur in the North Arcot District. The only other sure record of this prince hitherto known is the Madras Museum copper-plate inscription<sup>1</sup> where we are told that he was governing the country round Maratakapur, (known as Maratakā-nagaraprānta), located tentatively in the North Arcot District. In an inscription of Krishnarāya from Neyyanur in the South Arcot District, the king is said to have remitted some taxes in favour of certain Viṣṇu temples of the Chola country.

The Kikattiyas of Worangal; the Hoyselas of Dyavasmudra; the Velanādu chiefs; the Keralā king Ravivarman Kuasēkhara, who invaded Kāñche about the beginning of the 14th century A. D.; the Chola feudatory chiefs bearing the name Śambavaraya, who held temporary sway over a portion of the Ponda-nadu in the 14th century, and the Pāndyas of the 16th and 17th centuries A. D. are also represented in the year's collection. In the monolithic cave at Tirukkalukkumram, which, as I have already pointed out, probably came into existence during the reign of the Pallava king Narasimhavarmān I, or prior to his reign, have been cut a large number of Dutch names in Roman characters. A number of these names have been traced to the period of the Dutch occupation of the Coromandel Coast. Some of them were governors and chiefs of settlements.

Of the inscriptions copied in Burma, three possess exceptional historical interest. One of them was set up by Kyauzittha, the successor of Anawrata of Pagan, in B. E. 308 (= A. D. 1036), while he was leading the life of an exile in the neighbourhood of Anyin. The second was engraved in B. E. 577 (= A. D. 1215) and settles the question of the identity of the celebrated Buddhist divine Mahāthera Paunglaungshin Kathapa with the Mahāthera Panthagu of Pagan. The third records the existence at Kyauksauk in the Myingyan District, as late as B. E. 830 (= A. D. 1468), of the heretical sect of Aris who were suppressed at Pagan by Anawrata in the 11th century A. D.

In the history of Indian religions, the Śaiva creed of Southern India occupies no small place. Its antiquity is undoubted and may be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Śaiva saints Tiruvāvukkarāṣar, Tiruñāṅgambandar, Sundaramurti-Nāyanār and Mānskavāṣagar were some of the early exponents of the creed and have left a rich legacy of Tamil hymns which are looked upon as

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 203.

sacred by the Tamil Śaivas and are recited in most of the important Śiva temples of Southern India. Provision is made in some of the Tamil inscriptions of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries for the recitation in Śiva temple of the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns, i.e. the compositions of the first three of the above mentioned saints. In due course, *mathas* spring up presided over by Śaiva *saṁnyāsins* and called after the two famous saints Tiruṇāyanbandar and Tiruṇavukkarāṣār. These were richly endowed by ancient kings. Tiruchelatturam, Tiravimozai, Tiravarūr and Kovilur in the Tanjore District; Tiruppaatturai and Tiruvānakkāval in the Trichinopoly District and Tirupputtur in the Madurai District contained Śaiva *mathas* in the 13th century. Mr. Krishna Sastri is of opinion that the present *matha* at Śankarācharya at Tiruvānakkāval belonged originally to the Śaiva *matha* at Tiruchelatturam and was presided over by the *Mudaliyars* of that institution. The *mathas* at Tiruvattur and Dharmapuri in the Tanjore District and the Tiruṇāyanbandar-madai at Madurai are the modern representatives of the old Śaiva religious institutions of the Tamil country and exercise no small influence over the people committed to their spiritual care.

V. VENKAYYA.

## THE GARUDA PILLAR OF BESNAGAR.

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In January 1877, in the course of a survey of the ancient site of Besnagar in Gwalior State, General Cunningham noticed a pillar which he describes as "the fan-palm pillar" on account of the palm-leaf ornament with which the capital is crowned. From its style he felt inclined to assign it to the period of the Imperial Guptas. As so many a relic of the past, the pillar has been made an object of popular veneration and, in the course of worship, the shaft had been covered with a thick crust of red lead (*vermilion*). Cunningham was consequently unable to ascertain whether it was inscribed and he had to rest content with the assurance of the local priests that it was not. He thus missed a most important discovery which it was Mr. Marshall's good fortune to make forty-two years after the pillar had been noted by his predecessor.

"The shaft of the column," Mr. Marshall writes, "is a monolith, octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided above, with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions; the capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type, with a massive abacus surmounting it, and the whole is crowned with a palm-leaf ornament of strangely unfamiliar design, which I strongly suspect did not originally belong to it. In 1877 this column was thickly encrusted from top to bottom, as it still is, with vermilion paint smeared on it by pilgrims, who generation after generation have come to worship at the spot. Judging, however, from the proportions of the capital and the form of the shaft, Cunningham came to the conclusion that the monument belonged to the period of the Imperial Guptas, and, there is no doubt that the similarity of other monuments of that epoch justified him in forming this opinion. He surmised too that beneath the coats of vermilion an inscription might very likely be hidden, which would explain the history of the column, but he found great difficulty when he tried to clean off the paint and, being assured by the local Priests that no such record existed, he reluctantly gave up the attempt to find it. Cunningham's surmise, it now turns out, was perfectly

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 41, f.; plate XIV.

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, for 1909, p. 1052 ff. Cf. also Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 1967 ff. and Barnett, pp. 1903 f.; Fleet, *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 141 f. Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 104 ff.; Venis, *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 913 ff. and Fleet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 915 ff.



THE GARUDA PILLAR OF BESNAGAR





correct, though he was misled as to the date of the column and little could have dreamt of the value of the record which he just missed discovering. Possibly, since his day, some of the old paint has peeled off, and the fresh coats that have been added are thinner than they used to be. However this may be, on the occasion of my visit to Bēsnagar last January [1909], the State Engineer, Mr. Lake, discerned what he believed to be lettering on the lower part of the column, and the removal of a little paint quickly proved him to be right. A glance at the few letters exposed was all that was needed to show that the column was many centuries earlier than the Gupta era. This was, indeed, a surprise to me, but a far greater one was in store when the opening lines of the inscription came to be read. The memorial, they state, was a Garudadhivaja, set up in honour to Vasudeva by Heliodoros, the son of Dion, a Bhagavata, who came from Taxila in the reign of the great king Antialkidas.<sup>1</sup>

Antialkidas is one of the Indo-Baktrian kings who ruled in the Kabul valley and in the Panjāb. As he is the only one of the later kings who struck money on the Attic standard, Professor Gardner assumes that he was either a contemporary or an immediate successor of Hēliokles. In other words, he must have ruled about the middle of the second century B.C. His coins have been found at Begram in Afghanistan and as far south as Sonapat, the ancient Sivarnoprastha, north of Delhi.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription mentions, moreover, an Indian ruler, named Kāsipati Bhagabhadra, to whose dominions the site of Bēsnagar evidently belonged. It appears that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth year of the reign of this king. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposes to identify the Bhagabhadra of the inscription with a king of the name of Bhāgavata who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the ninth king of the Śūnḍa dynasty. It is indeed possible that the name *Bhagabhadra* has become corrupted into *Bhagarata* and the date assigned by Mr. V. A. Smith to the Śūnḍa king in question, namely circa 108 B.C. is not very far removed from that of Antialkidas. The word *Kusiputa* has been read by Dr. Bloch as *Kosiputa*. As the vowel mark of the first *akṣara* is slightly damaged, both readings are admissible. But the reading *Kusiputa*, meaning "the son of the Princess from Kāśī" (i.e. Benares), seems to me to be preferable. Dr. Fleet has rightly pointed out that *Kosiputa* cannot be very well derived from Sanskrit *Koutsiputra* which would yield a Prakrit form *Kōchhiputta*. According to a usage which has been prevalent in India from very remote times up to the present day, a queen is often not indicated by her personal name but by that of her native country. Examples are *Gandhara*, *Madrā*, *Madrarata*, *Kauśalyā* (from *Kosalā*), *Kaskey* (from *Kekaya*, *Fardesh* (i.e. *Sila*), *Fardarbhī* (i.e. *Damaganti*). Such names are again used in metonymic appellations, a well known example being *Apurasattu Fardhiputti* (Sk. *Apurakatur Fardhiputrah* as pointed out by Dr. Fleet. Another instance is *Mudravatiputra* for the two younger Pāṇḍavas, Nakula and Sahadēva.

Heliodoros, the son of Dion, by whom the pillar was set up calls himself a Bhagavata and a Yonadāta. The first of these two terms characterises him as a worshipper of the Lord (Sk. *Bhagavant*) Krishna. He erected the pillar in honour of this incarnation of Vishnu and it probably bore the effigy of the Sun-bird Garuda, the

<sup>1</sup> P. Gardner, *Coinage of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria* (London: British Museum, p. xxxv ff.

vehicle of that deity. This may be inferred from the term "Garuda standard" (Skr. *Garuda-dhroja*) by which the pillar is indicated in the inscription. It will be remembered that the famous iron pillar of Old Delhi (Qutb) is also described in its inscription as a "Standard" of the Lord Vishnu (Skr. *Bhagavata Vishnu-dhrajah*).<sup>1</sup>

The word which I read with Dr. Fleet and Mr. Bhandarkar *Yonadutena* was first read in turn *gena damtena* (Bloch), *yōnadutena* (Fleet), and *gena dutēna* (Venis). The vowel-marks both of the first and the third *aksharas* are unfortunately broken, and the estampages do, therefore, allow us to adopt any of the four readings. It must, however, be admitted that *Yonadutena* is by far preferable to the other readings as well from a grammatical point of view as in the light of the context. Hēliodoros was indeed a *Yonaduta*—a *Yona* (Skr. *Yavana*), i. e., a Greek, as appears from his name, and a *dūta*, because he had come from the court of king Antialcidas.

As the inscription is clearly engraved and well preserved, the readings of the various scholars mentioned above differ but little, except in the seventh or last line. Dr. Fleet's first interpretation was based on the assumption that this seventh line was not the final portion of the inscription but that its concluding part, probably containing a date, was still concealed under the vermillion at the time when the first estampages were taken. But the further cleaning of the shaft has proved that the inscription consists of only seven lines. The state of the stone immediately beneath the legend puts beyond doubt that no further lines have been worn out or lost.

The first word of the last or seventh line is undoubtedly *rasena*. The next word was read by Dr. Bloch *Chatudaseena*. Mr. Venis read *chatudasena* and Mr. Bhandarkar *Majhad[e]śē na*. The readings quoted above will show that great uncertainty prevails as regards the interpretation of the two *aksharas* immediately following the word *rasena*. But they can be read *chata* and this reading undoubtedly yields an excellent sense. I, therefore, adopt Mr. Venis' interpretation *rasena chatudasēna* meaning "in the fourteenth year."

The following *rajena* (Skr. *rajye*) *radhamanasa* indicates that the year mentioned before refers to the reign of king Kāśipata Bhāgabhadra. The use of the instrumental instead of the locative case in *rasena chatudasena rajena* is uncommon. But we may compare *Śukravarena* for *Śukrarorē* in the 27th line of the Chaulukya copper-plate inscription of Somavarma and Āśoka.<sup>2</sup> The word *radhamanasa* at the end of the document is strange, but suggests some connection with the well known formula *pravardhamūṣa-katyāna-rajya-rajye* found in later inscriptions. The following is the reading finally adopted by Dr. Fleet :—

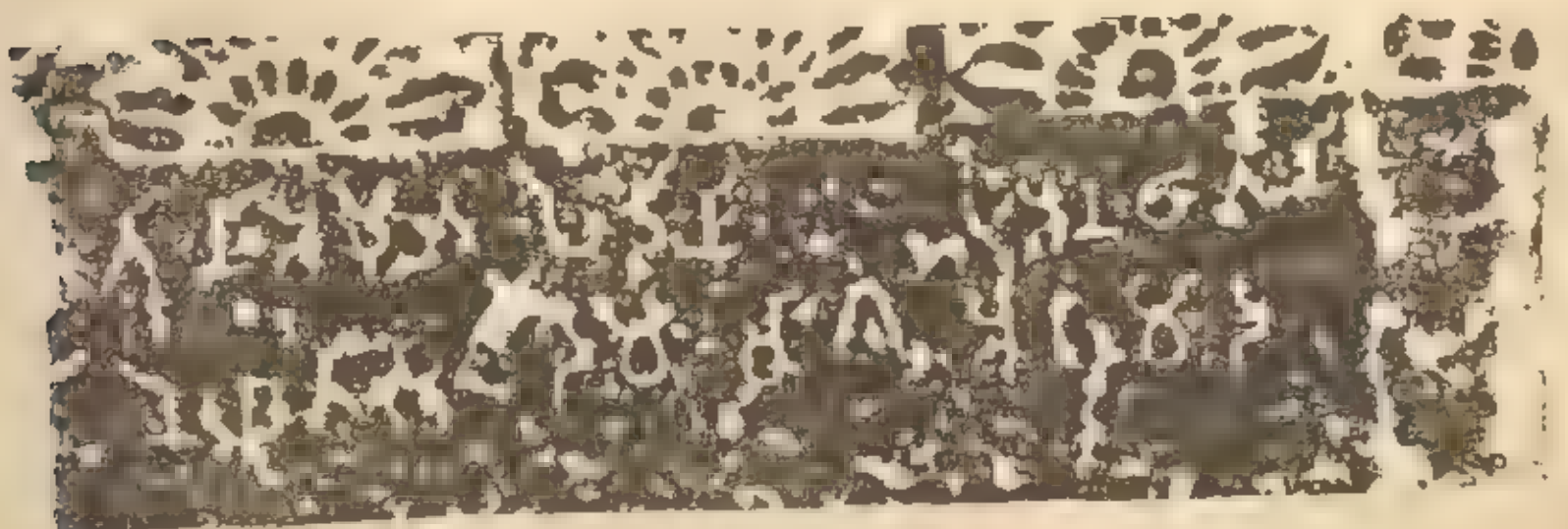
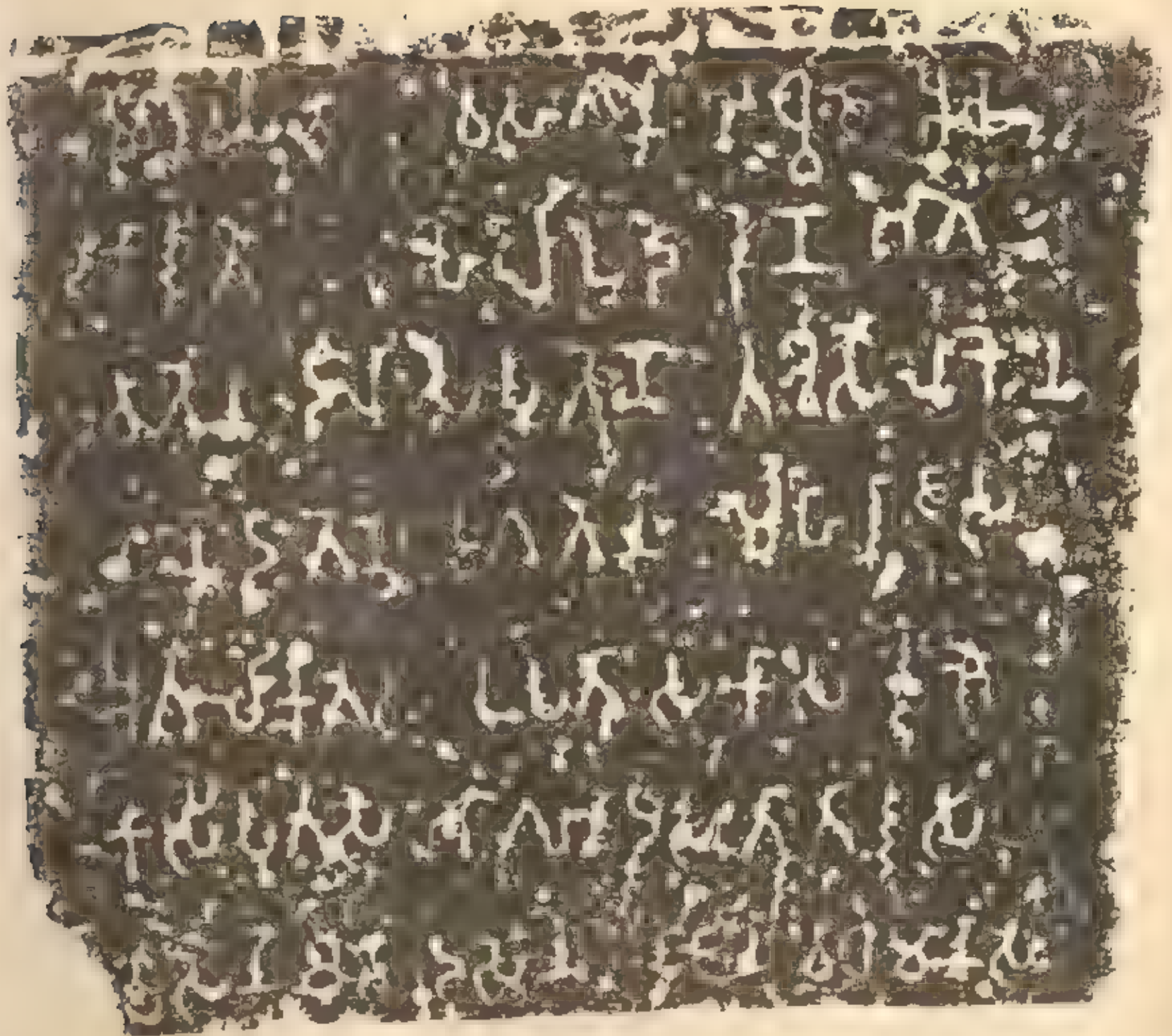
#### TEXT A.

1. *Dēvadēvasa Pa[sudē]vasa Garuḍadhrajē ayam*
2. *kāritē.....Hēliōdōrēna Bhaga-*
3. *catēna Diyasa putrēna Takhasilākēna*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, plate XII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 3, and *A. S. R.* for 1902-03, p. 251.







4. *Yōnadutēna agalēna mahārājasa*
5. *Āmtalikitasa upa[m]tā sakāsa[m] rañña*
6. *Kāsiputasa Bhagabhadrasa tṛaturasa*
7. *casēna chetudāsēna rājena vadhamonasa.*

*Translation.*

"This Garuda-standard was made by order of the Bhagavata . . . Héliodoros, the son of Dion, a man of Taxila, a Greek ambassador from King Antialcidas, to King Bhagabhadra, the son of the Princess from Benares, the saviour, while prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign."

On the other side of the pillar the following inscription is found :—

## TEXT B

1. *Trini amutapadāni.....[pta] anu[h]itāni*
2. *noyamāti svago[m] damō chāgō apramāda.*

*Translation.*

"Three are the steps to immortality which . . . followed lead to heaven, [namely] self-control, self-denial and watchfulness."

J. PR. VOGEL.



## AN INSCRIBED SCULPTURE IN THE PESHÄWAR MUSEUM.

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WITH the exception of one very small fragment from Jamālgarhî (the corner of some large piece), the only inscribed sculpture at present contained in the Peshāwar Museum is the one reproduced in Plate XLVII.

It was presented by Mr. Wilson-Johnston, I.C.S., who states that its original findspot was a nullah near Yākub, in the Swābî Tahsil. The upper portion of the sculpture and also the right hand side are lost, but even in its present condition the fragment is of fair size, measuring 1'-11" by 1'-2".

In the centre is a Buddha figure with hands in the *dharmacakra-mudra*, seated on an upright lotus. The hair is treated in a peculiar manner, which might almost be looked upon as transitional between the usual naturalistic method and the little round ringlets of the canon. Both shoulders are draped, and both feet concealed. The edge of the stile is occupied by a number of divine figures (including apparently a figure of Mañjuśrî in the lower left hand corner), some of them represented as worshipping, while at either side of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated is a small kneeling figure corresponding to the Nāgas similarly placed in the analogous composition from the Swat Valley, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In a lower compartment, corresponding to the pedestal, as it were, is a further group showing a Bodhisattva in the centre seated between two apparently royal figures, with one monk on the proper left and three *upāsikās* on the right. Evidently two other figures have been lost.<sup>1</sup>

It is below this compartment that the inscription is incised in, for the most part, well formed Kharōshthî letters averaging  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. The beginning of the epigraph is lost, but, it seems to have contained six letters at most, presumably a genitive. The left hand corner is also damaged, with the loss of probably three letters, while two others are incised above the break, forming to all appearances the conclusion of the epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, plate LXVIII, fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup> According to M. Foucher (*J. A.* 1902, pp. 5 sqq.) the sculpture as a whole would represent the miracle of Śrīvaṣṭhî, but this identification seems very uncertain to me. Nor does the inscription appear in any way to support this theory.

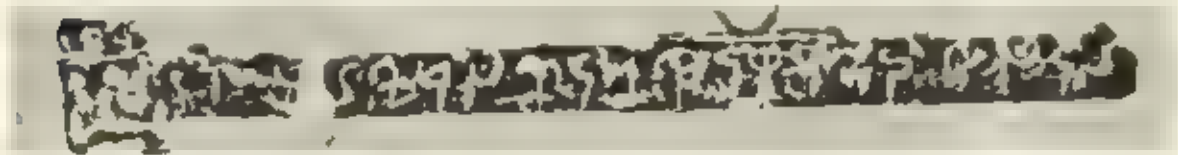




As it stands I would read it :

... danamukhe Sādhakamitrasha jñakumaro hidagramava.  
... rada.

Of these letters the only doubtful ones, in my opinion, are the *tra* in what I



read as *mitrasa* and the *va* before the break at the end. It is just possible that this may have been a *va*, but *ra* seems much more probable from an examination of the stone itself, as the depression to the left appears due to injury. The same might be said of the *ga*, but here I see no real doubt as to the reading. The *ka* is more distinctly traceable on the original. Of the other letters, the only ones calling for remark are the *ja* and the *ra*, both of which show forms not given in Bühler's table, but no doubt attaches to either. As for the *tra*, however, it must be acknowledged that the reading is hypothetical, for the lower end of the *akshara* is lost, and the original occurrence of a stroke to the right can only be conjectured.<sup>1</sup>

The left hand corner is an interesting puzzle. Assuming that the break is a fairly recent one, as it probably is, the epigraph has suffered the loss of three characters. What these were must remain uncertain, but if any restoration is permissible, I would propose to supply *anam ra*. It is quite possible, however, that the stone was injured either before the inscription was begun (which is improbable; and in which case the writer would probably have spaced his letters differently), or while it was being inscribed, for it seems easy to read the existing letters as one word, *varada* an epithet of the Buddha meaning "bestower of blessing." The sense thus remains essentially the same, whether we amend or not.

With these reservations, therefore, I would translate : "... the gift of Sādhakamitra, this royal Buddha [to be] a source of blessing for this village, ... or, for the people of this village."

The purport of the whole I take to be that Sādhakamitra, who was probably more closely characterized in the initial genitive word now lost, set up this image of the Buddha for the welfare of his village, or more specifically, for the people of his village, if the suggested *rasinom* is accepted. There is no trace of any dative form at the end, and the syllables *rada*, which I take to stand for *varada*, whether or not connected intentionally with the *va* before the break, seem certainly to close the inscription.

As for the name Sādhakamitra<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to find any exact parallel,

<sup>1</sup> I should point out, however, that since the above was written the Government Epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya has expressed some doubt as to the *ka* suggesting the possibility of its being *ga* instead. Mr. L. V. and I are not at all sure and the *na* also suggests that the second superscript letter to the left should be read as *sa*. He would further propose to interpret *h* as not an exponent of *ka* but as *ha* making the following *akshara* as an instance of *tra*, a step as far as understanding is concerned. But my own respect for the great loss of tend to support the readings, and I must leave my transcriptions for the present as above, noting that it is highly satisfactory to have so many letters under dispute.

<sup>2</sup> We may perhaps read *Saḍharmamitrasha* which would correspond either to Skt. *Sa-Dharmamitra* or to *Saḍharmamitraka*.

and I advance the reading with some hesitation, particularly in view of the objections that have been raised to the *ka* and the *mi*. There does not seem, however, to be any inherent impossibility in the word as a name. It is true that no authority accessible to me authorizes the use of *Sadhaka* as a designation of the Buddha, which my reading would seem to imply; but Childers quotes the *Saddharmapungdārīka* for the expression *Sabbasattānāṃ nibbīṇasadhaka*, which appears to make the proposed interpretation reasonable. And if the reading *vārada* is acceptable, it would seem to strengthen this hypothesis, for the particular blessing implied in the term is the blessing of *nīrāya*.

At first the *akshara sha*, which I take to stand for the genitive ending *śya*, appeared to me a further difficulty. The usual form in Kharoshthī is, of course, the simple *sa*, with an occasional *śya* retained, and I could find no instance of the change of *śya* to *sha*.<sup>1</sup> But Mr Venkayya has very kindly drawn my attention to the form *piyushā* in the so-called Queen's Edict (l. 1) from the Allahabad pillar<sup>2</sup> and to the coin legend *Patuleraśha*<sup>3</sup> so that the form may be unhesitatingly accepted, although not registered in the grammar. As the *akshara* is written, there can be no doubt that the lingual is intended.

A more serious difficulty lies in the word *Jinakumaro*, which I take to mean "Royal Buddha," and to refer to the sculpture itself. This interpretation, however, is so entirely unsupported by any parallel known to me that I advance it with great hesitation. Mr Venkayya would see in the word the equivalent of the *jīnaputto* of Pāli writings, and translate it as a "pious monk." But for syntactical reasons I fail to see how this is possible. The word is in the nominative, and if it is to refer to the donor, a genitive would appear an absolute necessity. If, as I understand, it is in apposition to *danamukhe*, as its case construction would seem to necessitate, it must refer to the image, and "Royal Buddha" is the only interpretation that suggests itself to me. Dr. Vogel doubts the propriety of such a designation for the Buddha subsequent to the Great Renunciation (*Mahābhīṣikkramaṇa*), and it must be confessed that it does appear both strange and unexpected. I put forth my own interpretation, therefore, tentatively, in order to render the epigraph accessible to scholars elsewhere. For I cannot pretend that the translation proposed is anything more than a first attempt. At any rate, be it observed, I see no possibility of combining the letters in such a way as to refer to the miracle of Śrāvastī, of which scene this composition would certainly be a very feeble representation.

It is a pity that both ends of the inscription are damaged, for it leaves a good deal open to conjecture; but this is unfortunately apt to be the case with Kharoshthī inscriptions in Gandhara.

D. B. SPOONER.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 10.



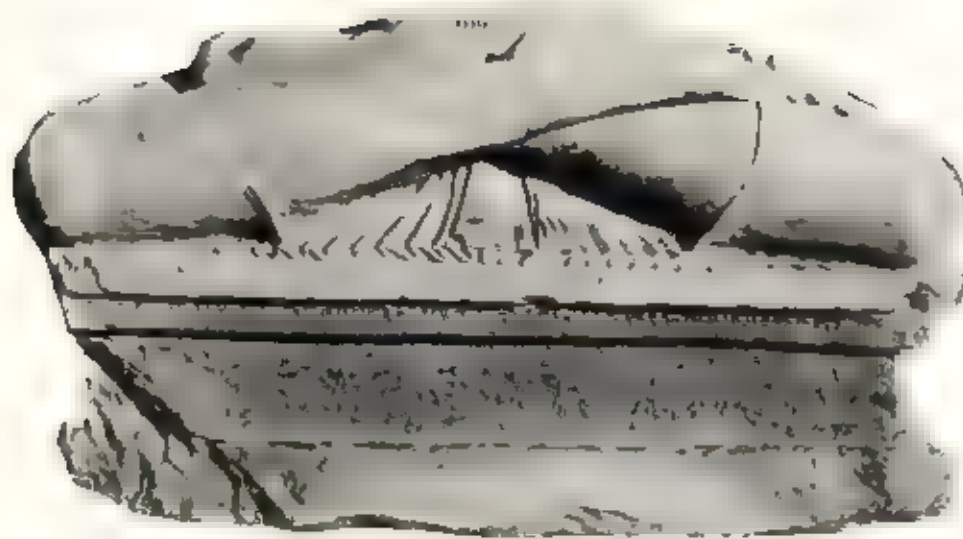


Fig. 1.

## A BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SRAVASTI.



THE inscription on the colossal Bodhisattva statue discovered by General Cunningham at Sahêth-Mahêth in 1862-63 is too well known to require a detailed mention here.<sup>1</sup> The document which forms the subject of this paper is incised on the pedestal of an incomplete life-size Bodhisattva statue which came to light at Sahêth-Mahêth during the excavations carried out by Mr. Marshall with my assistance in the winter of 1908-09.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture itself is shown in the illustration at the head of this article. The front side of the pedestal on which the inscription is engraved is 2·8" broad by 9" high, and has a projection both at the top and at the base leaving a sunken panel in the middle. The upper projecting portion is again divided into two ribs and it is on them and the sunken panel that the inscription is incised. The lower projection of the pedestal is blank and much mutilated.

The writing consists of four lines. The last line containing the Buddhist creed was added several centuries after the original record was carved, and it is only necessary to remark that it is composed in incorrect Sanskrit which exhibits several mistakes of grammar. *Hetan-brahm* is replaced by *hêtun-śhâm*, *Tathagatô* appears as *Tathagattô*, *Hyaradut* is written *hyaraduh*; and the *visarga* of *urodhah* is retained before *êza*, which, of course, stands for *êrim*. The date on this line, as judged from the characters used in it, is the 5th or 6th century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> It has been edited four times, but for a thorough discussion of its contents we refer the reader to two excellent studies published by Dr. Th. Bloch, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, 1898, p. 278, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, n. 180.

<sup>2</sup> A full account of Mr. Marshall's exploration will appear in the next Annual.

The original inscription is contained in the upper three lines. It will be seen from a photograph of the sculpture published above that the pedestal is damaged more or less at both ends so that the first or topmost line is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end, while the other two lines have each lost a few syllables at the beginning. The remainder of the document is in a good state of preservation with the exception of the middle portion of the second line which is somewhat defaced. The engraving is excellent in the first line but hasty and somewhat careless in the rest. The height of the *akṣharas* without superscribed or subscribed strokes or letters varies from  $\frac{5}{16}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The compound *akṣharas* (*saṃyukta-rakṣas*) are  $\frac{5}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. A few *akṣharas* in the third line are  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high.

The inscription is not dated but its age can be approximately estimated from the style of its characters. They exhibit a certain degree of similarity to the alphabet used in the inscriptions on the Śravastī Bolihsattva referred to above and the similar statue at Sarnath, which are the earliest records of the reign of Kanishka yet found. It might, therefore at first sight be supposed that the present inscription is contemporaneous with those mentioned above. A closer examination, however, of the alphabet used reveals features which decidedly point to a somewhat earlier date. For instance, the *ga* which occurs throughout in its full tripartite form both alone and in ligatures, is certainly more archaic than in the inscriptions of Kanishka. It is rounded at both ends whereas in the inscriptions of Kanishka's reign it is angular.<sup>1</sup> The *ṣa* also shows only the archaic form, such as we find in the inscriptions of Śodāsa in which the cross-bar has not yet taken the place of the slanting middle stroke.<sup>2</sup> Above all this we notice that the post-consonant *e*, *o*, and *u* are generally represented by horizontal strokes as in pre-Kushana inscriptions and not by slanting strokes.<sup>3</sup> All these peculiarities are presented in a striking manner by nine Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and although none of them contains a date or a king's name, they have all been assigned on paleographic grounds to the period before the reign of Kanishka.<sup>4</sup> To this period I would assign the inscription under discussion. How much earlier than the accession of Kanishka it is, is impossible to decide in the absence of any Brahmi documents of the time of Kanishka's predecessors Kadphises I and Kadphises II.

The language of the inscription, as is usual with the documents of this period is neither pure Prākṛit nor pure Sanskrit but a mixture of both. This dialect has been discussed at some length by Dr. Bühler.<sup>5</sup> Here it is only necessary to refer to some of its principal characteristics as exhibited by this inscription. The case

<sup>1</sup> The *ḥ* in *bāḥasatā* (L. 1) and *bāḥasatā* (L. 2) is not met with anywhere else. It shows a curve at the base which opens to the right. As the Gupta *ḥ* of the eastern variety shows a similar curve opening to the left, it may be assumed that the latter is derived from this form.

<sup>2</sup> The correctness of this statement will appear from the fact that not one of the many Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā of the time of Kanishka and his successors which have been published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. I and II, shows a single example of the *ṣa* without the cross-bar.

<sup>3</sup> I have adopted this suggestion from Dr. Vogel's article on the Sarnath inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 175) where he has also pointed out that the post-consonant *e*, *o*, and *u* are generally represented by horizontal strokes.

<sup>4</sup> Seven of these were published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 10 ff., where they are referred to as inscriptions No. 14 to 20. The other two are on two *śilā* inscribed as J 7 and J 8 in Dr. Vogel's *Illustrations of the Mathurā Museum* in 1881 and 1884.

<sup>5</sup> In favour of this conclusion it may be pointed out that the inscription does not contain the name of Kanishka or any of his successors, whereas it is seldom wanting in important inscriptions of the time of these rulers.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 75 ff.

terminations are of both types, but Prākṛit e forms are more frequent. Out of three instances of the genitive singular of an *a* stem we find twice the Sanskrit ending *ṣya* and once the Prakrit *sa* for *śaśa*. The genitive plural is Prakritic in three instances characterized by the shortening of the *ā* of *ām*. *Bhratrinām*, *kṣhatṛiyalā* (*ā*)-*nā*[*m*] and *bhūganam*, however, have the Sanskrit termination. The instrumental *ena* occurs in three words *Mathurena*, *ketarapakorena* and *Śīcamitreṇa* and is in all of them of the Prākṛit type. This is evidenced by the fact that although all these nouns end in *ra* the dental *na* of the termination is not changed to the cerebral *ṇa*.

Among consonantal groups, *kṣha* occurs twice—*kṣhatṛiyanam* and *vichakṣhaṇā*—in both of which it retains the Sanskrit form. Letters with *r* as the first or last component remain unaltered in five instances, but the *r* is omitted in *paṇattham* (Skt. *parartham*, Pkt. *paṇattham*), *sava* (l. 2, Pkt. *sarva*) and *hitattham* (l. 2, Pkt. *hitattham*). The word *puraskṛiṣa* (l. 2, Skt. *puraskṛitya*) shows a double influence of Sanskrit, first in the retention of the dissimilar consonants *s* and *k* and again in the use of the termination *tya* instead of *tvā*. The Pali form of this word is *purakkhateā*.

In the matter of spelling I have to notice the substitution of the long *ṛ* for the short *i* in *Śīradharasya* (l. 1), *d[ē]ṇṭi* (l. 2), *vichakṣhaṇā* (l. 2), *ṛitasa* (l. 3) and *bhūsaṭṭa* (l. 3). Similarly the long *ā* takes the place of the short *a* in *sarva-Buddhanam* (l. 2). The omission of the *anuvāra* and of vowels in some cases will be observed in the transcript. *Dhamaṇḍa* is obviously a mistake for *Dharmamaṇḍa* (Skt. *Dharmamaṇḍi*). The substitution of *h* for *dh* in *bhūsaṭṭa* (l. 1) and *bhūsaṭṭa* (l. 3) was apparently due to vernacular influence<sup>1</sup>. This form is, however, not met with anywhere else.

#### TEXT.

L. 1. . . . *ṣya Śīradharasya cha bhratrinā* [*m*<sup>\*</sup>] *kṣhatṛiyana* [*m*<sup>\*</sup>] *Velishṭhanam* *Dhamaṇḍa-putrānaṃ dānaṃ Śrāvastī-Jetavane* *Bhūsaṭṭa Mathura*-[*va*]....

L. 2. .... *ta sarva-Buddhanam paṇattham moto-pritṭi puraskṛiṣa sava-satṭa* *hitattham cha d[ē]ṇṭi satha-vichakṣhaṇā asarakā cha bhūganam*

L. 3. *ṛitasa cha sīcamitṛa-kusolā bhūyakusala-achina* *W[ā]ṭhurena seta-* *rupakurēna Ś[ī]camitrēna Bhūsaṭṭa kṛitā.*

#### Remarks.

L. 1. *Velishṭhanam*. I read it as *Falishṭhanam*, which I thought stood for the Sanskrit *balishṭhanam* (superlative from *balā*—powerful). The reading *Velishṭhanam* I owe to the kindness of the late Dr. Th. Bloch who was of opinion that *Velishṭha* was an adjective from *Vilishṭa* (—), a place or district from which the donors of the image came. This interpretation is very plausible, though it must be admitted that no locality of this name is known from any other source.

L. 1. *Śrāvastī-Jetavane*. The first word stands obviously for *Śrāvastī*—the adjective form of *Śrāvastī*. The lengthening of *a* in the second syllable of *Jetavane* is due to the carelessness of the engraver. Or perhaps the name was pronounced as such.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *baddhā* (Hindi *baḥḥā*), *daḍhā* (Hindi *daḥḥā*) etc.

L. 1. *Mathura-ca...* Here we evidently had a compound word with *Mathura* as the first component. Of the second component only the first syllable *ca* is extant. The restoration is made still more efficient by the fact that the following word is also entirely broken away with the exception of its final syllable *ta* which survives in the beginning of the second line. It is, therefore, only possible to offer a conjectural reading. I am inclined to think that it may originally have been *Mathura-ca-[staryash pratishthap]ta* an independent clause in which *Mathura-castaryash* refers to the donors of the statue. It would then have to be supposed that the donors, though they belonged to some place across Vindhya, were actually residing in Mathura at the time when they travelled to Śrāvastī in order to present this statue at the famous Jētavana.

L. 2. *Matapriti*. The vowel in the last syllable of *pri* is doubtful owing to the disintegration of the surface of the stone. There is no doubt, however, that the compound stands for the Sanskrit *matapitarau*.

L. 2. *D[e\*]nti*. This form is evidently vacant for *denti*, regular Pali present third person plural of *da* "to give." The subject of this verb is not indicated, but there can hardly be any doubt about it.

L. 2. *Satha-richokshana*. The first syllable of *satha* is obliterated. The reading *satha* I owe to the late Dr. Bloch, who rightly concludes that it is the same as the Pali *sattha* in the sense of the doctrine taught by the Buddha. *Sattha* (Skt. *Śāsta*) "a teacher," is one of the epithets by which Gautama Buddha is spoken of in the commentaries.<sup>1</sup>

L. 2. *Asarāko cha bhōgūnān*. *Asarāko* stands apparently for the Sanskrit *asāratam*. The unreality of worldly things is frequently dwelt upon in Buddhist literature.<sup>2</sup> The missing portion of the third line contained some word like *viditva* which governed *asaratanā* and *sērām* in the following line.

L. 3. *Jivāsa cha sēram*. The last word is very difficult to interpret. We evidently want here some word to correspond in meaning to the *asāratam* of the preceding line. The nearest approach in Sanskrit would seem to be *sauritam* (Pali *sēritām*) which originally means independence, wealth, the power to go where one likes, and thence, fickleness or instability. The donors know the pleasures of the world to be unreal and life to be unstable and, therefore, devoted themselves to meritorious acts.

L. 3. *Iya-kūśala bhaya-kūśalam*. The word *iya* is probably the same as the *ia* of the Asoka edicts and *bhaya* corresponds to the *paratra* of those documents.<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit word corresponding to *bhaya*, as suggested by the late Dr. Bloch, is *bharya*.

L. 2. *Achin*. This is probably derived from the root *a-chi*, to heap up or to accumulate.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Atthasāntthamchakkhānā* in *Mahāvamsa* (ed. Turner), p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Faubell. *Dhammapadam*, pp. 181 and 353.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (ed. Turner), p. 221 *asārānā dhanānā*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ja cha sukāyama paratra cha apagān aradhetu*. *Jp. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 425.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (ed. Turner), p. 124, *yaṃapyaṃ pāṇi-pāṇiṃ aśānā pūṇānāmanānā āchinā* which is rendered by "delighting in the exercise of his benevolence, during the whole of his life, realized for himself manifold blessings."



ASUTR BODH SAT'VA IMAGE 1.



1



2



3





*Translation.*

"A Bodhisattva [has been set up] in the Jētavana of Śrāvastī [as a] gift of.. and Śivadhara, Kshatriya brothers from Viliṣṭa (?) and sons of Dharmānanda, [residents of] Mathurā. [Being] versed in the scriptures and [knowing] the unreality of pleasures and the instability of life, they, i. e., the Kshatriya brothers referred to, gave [this Bodhisattva] in honour of all the Buddhas, for the welfare of all living beings with special regard to their parents, and accumulate merit for this world and merit for the next. [This] Bodhisattva was made by Śivanetra a sculptor of Mathurā."

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the Bodhisattva statue on which it is inscribed by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. The name of only one of them remains in the inscription and it is not known whether there were one or more names contained in the portion broken away in the beginning of the first line. The plural number of the forms *kshatriyaṇam*, *bhadrīyaṇam* and *Veliṣṭhaṇam* would tend to show that the donors were more than two. If, however, we assume that the writer of the document followed the Prakrit grammar which does not recognize the dual number (*du-eachana*), it may be supposed that the *Bodhisattva* was the common gift of only two brothers, one of whom was named Śivadhara. The latter supposition receives some support from the fact that the missing portion could have furnished space for only one name.

It might appear strange at first sight to find a Buddhist devotee call himself by a name (Śivadhara) which suggests a connection with a rival sect. Instances, however, are not wanting of Jaina devotees bearing names which contain the name of Śiva. Such names occur in several Jaina inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Kushana and earlier periods and it may be correctly assumed that the early centuries of the Christian era had not yet developed that spirit of antagonism between the sects which characterized the later periods.

It has been assumed in the translation that the gift of the Kshatriya brothers consisted of a single Bodhisattva image. It must, however, be noted that in line 1 the noun Bodhisattva is used in the plural form *Bodhisattva*. So also is the passive past participle *kṛtā* in the third line. It was, therefore, at first supposed that this Bodhisattva was only one of a number of such statues that were presented by Śivadhara and his brother or brothers, and that the remainder were still buried somewhere on the site. This assumption has, however, been given up in view of the fact that the noun Bodhisattva is used in the third line in its base form without any case ending and it is possible that the plural termination in the instance quoted above may have been only accidental or due to a clerical error.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies further authentic evidence in support of the identification of Sāheth-Mahēth with Śrāvastī. This question has been fully discussed by Mr. Marshall elsewhere<sup>2</sup> and it is needless

<sup>1</sup> For this construction cf. *Glvaśānaya Dāvasānaya Śivasānaya cha Kshatriyaṇam mātā* "mother of the brothers, Glvaśāna, Dāvasāna and Śivasāna" *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 208, No. XXXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dāvasāna Śivadhara and Śivadhara (*K.* *Ind.* Vol. II, p. 208 and Ś. *Ind.* *A. S. R.* Vol. III, p. 32 N. 9).

<sup>3</sup> *J. R. A. S.* for 1909 pt. 1909 ff. Cf. also my note on the Sāheth-Mahēth correspondence of Vasudevaśāhina in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 10-11.

to reiterate here all that has been said there. This identification is now a settled fact and there can no longer subsist any doubt about it.

Another point of considerable importance connected with this inscription is the light which it throws on the history of the Mathurā school of sculpture. Dr. Vogel has devoted a chapter to this subject in his catalogue of the Mathurā Museum where he has traced its history from the time of the Mauryas downwards and shown that the sculptors of Mathurā did not work for the embellishment of the monuments of that town alone. They also supplied Buddhist sculptures to various parts of northern India. The best known examples of this class of sculptures—as Dr. Vogel has pointed out—are the colossal Bodhisattva statue erected at Sarnath in the third year of Kanishka's reign, the colossal Bodhisattva statue found at Sahrâth-Mahaur, by General Cunningham, a post-Kanishka image, Bodhi-Gayâ—now in the Calcutta Museum, the famous Nirvāṇa statue of Kāśī, and another statuette of the Gupta period which Dr. Vogel discovered at Kāśī in 1906-07. Now, it will be seen that it is only the last two which are definitely stated in their inscriptions to have been manufactured by a sculptor of Mathurā, *Pratima-chôpan ghatita Dhanava Mathurena* on the Nirvāṇa statue and *Kriti-ch-Dhanava* (i.e. the statuette). The other three as well as many others scattered all over northern India were closely recognized as productions of Mathurā artisans by their external which is the red spotted sandstone of Sikri, and the style of their workmanship. Dhanava of the Gupta period was hitherto the only sculptor of Mathurā whose name had come down to us. The present inscription is, therefore, highly interesting inasmuch as it supplies the name of another master of that school who flourished before the time of Kanishka. This fact is also of particular importance for it shows that the superiority of the workmen of Mathurā over the isolated manufacturers of other places was admitted already in the period anterior to that of this reputed patron of Indian art. The name of this new sculptor was Śivantri and in the inscription he is called a *lâla-rupakâra* (Skt. *lailarûpakâra*) meaning “a maker of stone images.”

DAYA RAM SAHNI

<sup>1</sup> *Mahabharata*, pp. 63f. and plate XXV.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, pp. 40-f. In the Nirvāṇa image inscription the second *prâkṣa* of *Mathurâ* is written as *mathurâ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Kathâvârtâ-sâgrahâ*—*Varanasi*—37 verso B-D.

अथवाचिचक्रान् पश्चात् अथवाचि मन्त्रः । न स्यात् वीर्यं सृजन्त सप्त शीरीषा मन्त्राणि । अथवाचिचक्रान् पश्चात् अथवाचि मन्त्राणि ।

in those times the painter is called a *chitrakṛt* and the engraver or sculptor a *rûpakâra*. The *chitrakṛt* drew out the figure of the deity on the column, while the *rûpakâra* did the engraving or sculpture with his tool.



invaders were concerned, no serious damage appears to have occurred to the Bodhi Tree. The object which led those wild sons of the Central Asian desert to the destruction and desecration of so many a sacred temple in India was not only religious zeal. I am afraid we should be overestimating them, if we did not admit that a certain delight in plunder may have helped to swell the army of Bakhtiyār Kīlji when he made his first incursion into Bahār and Bengal, towards the close of the 12th century A.D. We know that he plundered and destroyed the famous monastery of Uddanāpāṇa, the present Bihar, but although the journey from there to Bodhi Gayā is not more than fifty miles, he did not proceed further, for the simple reason that a *pīpal* tree certainly was no object worth "looting."

It sounds almost like a fable, if we read in Hsuen Tsiang's *Si-yu-ki* of Asoka and his queen, "making determined efforts to destroy the Bodhi Tree, the attempts being in each case frustrated." May we really charge Asoka with this foul act? I think we have good reason in answering the question in the affirmative. As I shall show later on, no remains whatever have been brought to light so far in Bodhi Gayā, which might be ascribed to Asoka, and if we consider the religious teaching which he gave in several of his edicts, we can certainly not be surprised at finding him in overt enmity with the "tree worship," which at his time already was carried on successfully by the Buddhists at Bodhi Gayā. I refer especially to the ninth Rock Edict. It is evident that the worship of a sacred tree must have been induced among those "despicable and useless rites," which are "unproductive of any results" (*apaphala*), and should be avoided. And, to remember that Asoka's character at times showed signs of a certain hardness of temper, *e.g.*, during his expedition against Kalinga, it cannot surprise us to see, how, in one important instance at least, Asoka did not hesitate to give his subjects a practical lesson of the earnestness of his moral and religious teaching.

The second attempt to destroy the sacred Bodhi Tree may certainly be called true history. It must have occurred only a short time before Hsuen Tsiang's visit, who tells us the story,<sup>2</sup> and the memory of it must have been quite fresh in the minds of the faithful, when Hsuen Tsiang was at Bodhi Gayā. This is what he tells us:— "In recent times Śaśāṅka the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Purnavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became above ten feet high."

Hsuen Tsiang's visit to Bodhi Gayā probably occurred in A.D. 637,<sup>3</sup> while the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 610-20) is the established date of the Mahārājadhiraṇa Śaśāṅkarāja, the king of Karmasavarna or Western Bengal<sup>4</sup> when Hsuen Tsiang also mentions as the ruler of Bāḡavandhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Thāmésar (*Śharas-Śrāpa*). But although Hsuen Tsiang's

<sup>1</sup> Watters, *loc. cit.* I. 117. I took from the original attempt to destroy the Bodhi Tree, which was made by Asoka's queen, Tsi-yu-ki-shi, as it is, asserted after me, to be quite Asoka.

<sup>2</sup> *Si-yu-ki* IX. 3. *śāhudaḥ ca śāśāṅkaḥ ca mahāpāṇaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, *loc. cit.* I. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Watters, *loc. cit.* p. 535.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 149.





Fig. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



Fig. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



words would naturally lead us to look upon Śaśānka's action as directed against Buddhism, I venture to think that the facts, so far as we know them, may yet be construed in a somewhat different way. It is certainly remarkable that immediately after the destruction of the sacred tree by Śaśānka, the king of Magadhā, Purnavarman by name, tried to revive it again. His name, Purnavarman, does not suggest that he was a Buddhist, on the contrary, its formation with *varman* is in strict accordance with the rules laid down in the Grihya and Dharmasūtras in regard to the names for Kshatriyas, and, moreover, we meet at that time with a number of kings ruling over southern Magadhā and its adjacent countries, whose names are formed in exactly the same manner, and whom we know for certain not to have been Buddhists.

I refer to the Maukharī dynasty, whose existence at or near Bôdh Gayā can already be traced back to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., and whose rule over the country around Bôdh Gayā during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. is well known to us from inscriptions<sup>1</sup> and literary works.

Their wars with the later Gupta kings of Magadhā, *viz.*, Kumāragupta, Damodaragupta, and Mahasēnagupta, are expressly mentioned in the Apsid Inscription of Ādityasēna and it is evident that Southern Magadhā, at that time, must often have changed hands between the scions of the Imperial Gupta family and the Maukharī clan or Rājpats. To the king of Magadhā, Bôdh Gayā naturally formed a considerable source of income. According to ancient Indian law the king was entitled to a certain share of the revenue of each temple or sacred place of pilgrimage in his dominions, a custom which still exists, and to which such specimens of royalty as the present Rājā of Puri, the hereditary custodian of the temple of Jagannath, owe their existence. Without the sacred Boon Tree, Bôdh Gayā would have been like Mecca without the Ka'ba and Śaśānka's attempt to destroy the tree was certainly a well planned act against his rival king, Purnavarman of Magadhā, quite in accordance with the rules of the Indian Nitiśāstra or Doctrine of Policy. But, however much Śaśānka's memory has been blackened by Hsuen Tsiang, we have certainly not the slightest right to call him an enemy of Buddhism, because he attempted to destroy the sacred Bôdh Tree at Bôdh Gayā.

The worship of the sacred *pīpal* tree at Bôdh Gayā can be traced back to very ancient times, and I feel perfectly convinced that the Buddhists selected this tree as a sacred object of their religion merely on account of its previous sanctity, and not for any special reason connected with the spiritual career of their deified teacher. By saying this, I do not in the least intend to doubt the main facts of that great mental change called *bôdhi* or 'enlightenment,' which occurred to Buddha after years of severe struggle and painful austerities.

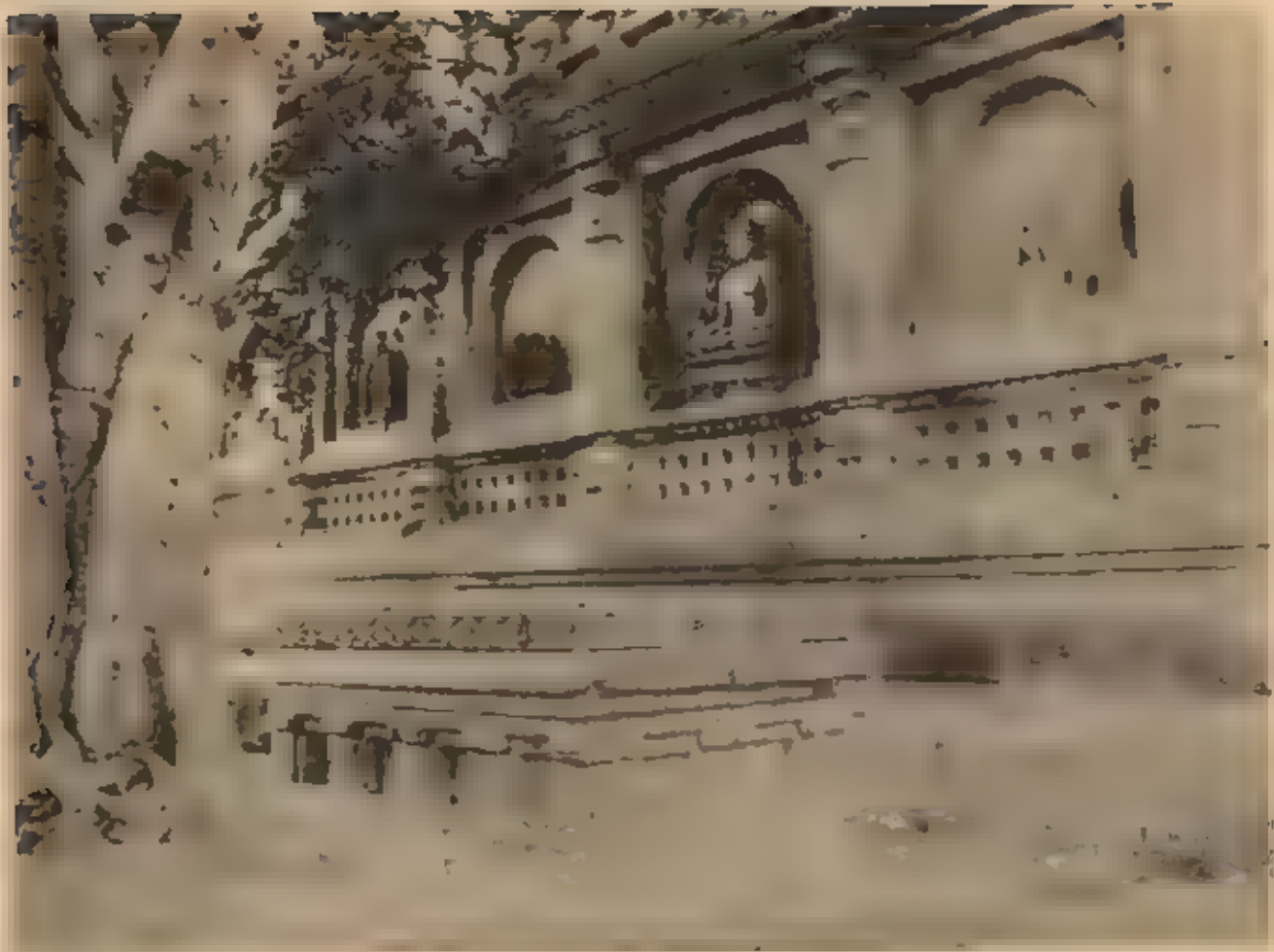
Neither do I question that part of the Buddhist tradition, which tells us that this great event happened at Uruvelā, or Bôdh Gayā, in the ancient country of Magadhā on the border of the Nērāñjarā river, the present Lāhjan, or Phalgū.

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting clay seal with the inscription: *Môkhalita i.e. Moukharis* " [son] of the Maukharī " published by Cunningham, *Maha-Bodhi*, plate XXIV, 1. Note that the language of this inscription is pure Magadhī with *l* for *r*, and *s* for *ś*.

<sup>2</sup> See Fleet, *Gudā Inscriptions*, Nos. 47-50, pp. 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 204.





VATRAMANA PE W. S. H. 1908



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refer my readers to the illustrations published by Cunningham, *l. c.* Plate VIII, Nos. 1 and 3, which are too flat to yield any result if reproduced by photography. The second rilievo, No. 5, probably represents Sujāta kneeling in front of the sacred tree at Uruvā. The stone seat under the tree indicates that Buddha himself sat there. The high wall with a double row of pillars, may certainly be taken as representing the enclosing walls, which already at that time surrounded the sacred tree, and which, as Hsuen Tsang<sup>1</sup> tells us, were "built of bricks, high and strong; the enclosure was long from east to west, and narrow from north to south, and it was above 500 paces in circuit." The figure of a *Kinnara*, holding a garland, which is seen in the upper part of the rilievo, to the left of the sacred tree, is quite in accordance with the usual representations of the life of Buddha in ancient Indian art.



FIG. 1

The modern village of Uruvā, the ancient Uruvā near Bôdhī Gayā

The first rilievo, No. 1, represents the first meal given to Buddha after the *Bôdhī*. The presence of Buddha is indicated by the square stone seat in the centre of the upper part of the rilievo. It is, however, remarkable that in this rilievo neither Sujāta, nor Punnā, provides the meal for Buddha, but the Tree-spirit (*rakkhadevata*) himself. We observe two human hands stretching forward out of the branches of a tree. One of them holds a flat dish, with a rice or flour cake; the second

<sup>1</sup> Watters, *l. c.* p. 112.

hand holds a water pot, similar to the kind now used by Muhammadans in India. A bench and *mōṣhā*, or wicker stool, have been provided for Buddha in the shade of the sacred tree, while a male attendant stands to the left, ready to receive the frugal meal, which the Tree-spirit of the sacred tree at Uruvelā had prepared for Buddha.

It is of considerable interest to observe the difference between the literary version of the story of Buddha's first meal after the *bodhi* and this rilievo. It is quite possible that the sculptural representation from Bodhi Gayā may have preserved to us the *Codex Archetypus*, if I may say so, of this famous legend. Sujātā may, perhaps, be a later development of the Tree-goddess of the sacred tree at Uruvelā, although I remember having read her name in ancient Pāli texts, *e.g.*, the *Anguttara Nikaya*. However, this question appears to me of slight importance only; the main point is that we now can trace the belief of a tree-goddess dwelling in the sacred tree at Uruvelā, as far back as the 2nd century B.C., the time of the erection of the ancient stone railing at Bodhi Gayā, as I shall show in the next chapter. The conclusion thus offers itself, *viz.*, that there existed a sacred tree in the village of Uruvelā at a very early time, and that the Buddhists, when they began worshipping at Uruvelā as the place of the *bodhi*, or enlightenment, of their devoted teacher, naturally selected this sacred tree as the most conspicuous object of their worship, quite in accordance with the popular custom of Tree-worship, in India, which has remained as vigorous and powerful down to the present age, as it ever has been from time immemorial.

I shall have occasion to recur to the later history of the Bodhi tree in the third chapter of this article. However, before proceeding to deal with the stone railing at Bodhi Gayā, I wish to draw attention to the interesting survival of the ancient name Uruvelā as the name of a small hamlet of some fifteen or twenty mud houses, situated at a distance of about half a mile to the south of the temple at Bodhi Gayā. This village is now called Urēl, clearly a modern form, developed out of the ancient name of Uruvelā, and similar local names are not infrequently met with in B.Lār.<sup>1</sup> The text-illustration (Fig. 1.) will best afford an idea as to what the ancient Uruvelā has come to in our present days. Needless to say, no *Sēnāpati* lives at present at Urēl, as in the palmy days when Buddha rested there; for the present Chowkidar of Urēl certainly would find it very hard to convince us that he is a scion of the family of the ancient *Sēnāpati* of Uruvelā, the husband of Sujātā, if he ever should dare to lay claim to so old and distinguished a lineage.

## II. The Ancient Stone Railing at Bodhi Gayā.

We know from the famous rilievo from Barāhat (Fig. 2), to which I have already had occasion to refer above (p. 139 footnote 1), that in the 2nd century B.C., the time when the Stupa at Barāhat was built, the Bodhi tree at Bodhi Gayā was surrounded by a sumptuous railing, consisting, as it appears, of a covered gallery, with open niches, resting on pillars. In front, in the right

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit form of the name is *Uruvelā* "a village with large *velā* or *bēl* tree, *Acacia marmelos*. The small tree in front of the modern village of Urēl, as shown in the text-illustration, is indeed a *bēl*-tree, but I am sorry that this little tree had no leaves, at the time when the photograph was taken during the dry season, in May 1909.







corner, was a column with the usual Persepolitan capital, upon which stood the figure of an elephant. The question now arises: what is, if any, to be entitled to make of the Barāhat rilievo in connexion with the history of Bodhi Gayā?



Fig. 2.

Barāhat rilievo with inscription. Photographed by S. C. Sarkar.

certain ya-lā-tā-ical fact that the ancient Indians learnt the art of stone architecture at a very late date, probably not long before the time of Aśoka. The well-known Indian tradition that Aśoka built his palace in Pataliputra and the famous edicts with the help of the *genui*, i.e., the Yakshas, still reflects to us something of the astonishment with which those architectural wonders were looked at by the Indians of that time. That the isolated column with an elephant on its capital at a wise might have been made of wood, appears to me incredible and, for the same reason, I do not in the least feel inclined to believe that the artist to whom we owe the Barāhat rilievo, committed such a serious blunder as to design a heavy gallery supported by wooden columns only. I am perfectly convinced that all the pillars on the rilievo

intended to represent a solid stone structure, some kind of an enlarged "coping stone" (*ushyisha*) of the ordinary type of railing of those days, appears to me incredible. It is much too big and heavy, and if ever such a constructive absurdity had been attempted, the superintending architect probably would have met with the sad experience of seeing his stone pillars crushed to pieces by the heavy coping, even before the entire fence had been completed. For this reason we can only think of some lighter structure, made of wood, or bricks, if we are to accept the rilievo from Barāhat as a true representation of the ancient fencing around the Bodhi Tree. It thus becomes evident that it would be in vain to expect any traces whatever to be left to us of this ancient gallery. Likewise, we might perhaps argue that the pillars supporting this gallery were made of wood, and that it is due to this perishable material that no remains whatever have been found of any similar pillar in the excavated area around the Bodhi Tree and the temple at Bodhi Gayā. It is

\* The idea suggests itself, that there were altogether four such "elephant pillars," symbolizing the "elephants of the four quarters" (*chaturdisha*) and near the sacred Bodhi tree, or the *Umayyā* tree, which is said to be the *Umayyā* tree, the others with the figures of a horse, a bull, and a lion, the three animals, which we find associated with the elephant on the ancient capital from Sarnāth, of which an illustration has been published, *J. S. B.*, 1904-05, plate XX.

from Barāhat are meant to represent stone columns, similar to the isolated pillar with the elephant, which might almost be called a typical representation of an *Asoka* column.

Accepting the strength of this argument, against which we cannot possibly shut our eyes, we naturally must ask the question: "where have all these stone columns disappeared to?" For so much at least, we know for certain that no traces of any similar column have been brought to light during the excavations of the area around the Bodhi Tree and the temple at Bodhi Gaya. The Barāhat relief represents not more than one quarter of the entire railing which surrounded the Bodhi Tree. Including the seated column with the figure of an elephant, we observe nine columns on this relief. This would make up a total of not less than thirty-two columns, which, if we may trust the Barāhat relief, surrounded the holy *pipal* tree at Bodhi Gaya in the 2nd century B.C. Is it possible to believe that no trace whatever should have been left of any of these thirty-two columns? This question becomes ever so much more serious, for remember that quite a number of stone pillars, railing bars, and coping stones have been found around the Bodhi Tree and the temple at Bodhi Gaya the date of the majority of which, as I shall presently show, coincides with the date of the Barāhat railing. If in the 2nd century B.C. the sacred *pipal* tree at Bodhi Gaya already had such a sumptuous and stately railing, as the Barāhat relief might lead us to believe, what necessity was there to build a second one, much inferior to the first, of which the larger part has still been preserved to us, while nothing whatever has remained of any railing similar to that shown in the relief from Barāhat? I fail to understand how it will ever be possible to answer this question, except by saying that the artist of the Barāhat relief represented merely an imaginary type of a railing, surrounding the holy *pipal* tree at Bodhi Gaya, or in other words, that the Barāhat relief should be entirely discarded in dealing with the history of the ancient stone railing at Bodhi Gaya.

The railing, as it now stands around the Temple and the Bodhi Tree, consists of two different parts, which may at once be distinguished from each other, not only by the difference in style of the carvings, but also by the different material, from which each of them has been made. The older set, Cunningham's so-called "*Asoka* railing," is made of sandstone from the Kaur range of hills, near Sasaram in the district of Shahdol, a later set, probably of the Gupta time (300-600 A.D.), is made of a coarse granite, or gneiss, such as one finds employed to a large extent in late temples in Magadha or Bihar. The carvings on each set also bear a striking difference. The older set has a number of reliefs representing the usual scenes, well known to us from other ancient Buddhist railings, e.g., the *Indrasabaṇḍha* (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi* plate VII 6), the entrance of the Jetavana by Anāthapūṭhaka (e. 8), Lakṣmi led off by the *dignajas* (e. 7); Śrīya standing on a chariot drawn by four horses, etc. On the later or Gupta pieces of the railing we meet with ornamental figures only (Plate LI, fig. a), such as Gaurās, Kirtimukhas, *stūpas*, etc., bearing in every detail the well-known characteristics of Gupta art such as we find at Sārnāth and other ancient sites in India.

It would be outside the scope of this article, which deals merely with the history of Bodhi Gaya, to enter into a detailed description of all the railing pillars, as



PLATE LII



we now have them standing around the temple and the sacred Bodhi Tree. So far as I am concerned at present with the Bodhi Gaya railing, there remains only one important point to be mentioned, to which I have already had occasion to call attention elsewhere.

From what I have said above, in the first chapter of this article, it cannot surprise us in the least to find that the Bodhi Gaya railing is not the work of Asoka's time but is, about one hundred years later, and that, for this reason, the term "Asoka railing" which generally has been applied to it since Cunningham, is misleading and should be discarded. We find ample evidence in support of this fact from the inscriptions on the railing and pillars. Not less than fifteen times we are met with the following well-known inscription:—*Tejap Karmajap dānam*—"The gift of the noble lady Karmajap." From the two most important inscriptions (Cunningham, *loc. cit.* plate X Nos. 9 and 10) we learn that this noble lady Karmajap was the wife of Indragimītra, whose name stands with a great number of other inscriptions on one of the railing pillars, where he appears to have had the title "king" (*rājā*; gen. sg.) added before his name. Another very important inscription of the same time reads as follows:—(L. 1.) *Rājā Brahmanītraḥ pūjāntiye Nāgadvāyā dānam*, i.e. "The gift of Nāgadvāyā, the wife of King Brahmanītra."

I think there can be no possible doubt that these two kings, Indragimītra and Brahmanītra, are identical with the two kings of the same names of whom a number of copper coins have been found in Northern India<sup>1</sup> and that both of them were either contemporaries of or belonged to the dynasty of Śunga kings, to whose time the erection of the gateway of the Bodhi Stupa is expressly referred by the inscription on that gateway. We thus have ample proof in support of what I have said above, *viz.*, that the older part of the Bodhi Gaya railing was put up in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., about one hundred years after the time of Asoka. It seems most likely that this railing originally stood around the Bodhi Tree, and so far, perhaps the Bodhi Tree, referred to above, is not far from the truth. The principal object of worship already at that time was the sacred Bodhi Tree, and it is only natural to find it surrounded by a stone railing as appears to have been the case with similar sacred trees in ancient India since the 2nd century B.C. The railing pillars have been shifted a good deal,<sup>2</sup> and the position, in which General Cunningham found them, and in which they are now put up again, certainly is not the original one. I am, however, unable to explain the correct meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> See *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1093.

<sup>2</sup> In one instance, the inscription has *dānam* for *dānam* which, of course, is Skt. *dānam* "gift."

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 10 is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It reads as follows:—

*Indragimītraḥ pūjāntiye Karmajapāyā dānam* *vijāpāntiye chēṭikāyā*—"The gift of Karmajap the wife of Indragimītra and the mother of living sons, to the chēṭika (chēṭika) of the noble temple." I take the word *vijāpāntiye* before *pūjāntiye* as an epithet of *varṇa*, designating the temple as a particularly large and stately building, similar to such expressions as *vijāpāntiye* "a noble elephant," *vijāpāntiye* "a goose" (as distinguished from *dhūmā* "a duck," etc.). Indian ladies still consider it a pride to call themselves *jīvaṇṇatī* "a mother of living sons," an expression very familiar to every reader of ancient Indian inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> See Cunningham, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 80 and 84.

<sup>6</sup> On several pillars the ancient carvings have been partly destroyed by mortar-holes, cut through them at a later time, a clear evidence of the fact, that these pillars had been shifted from their original position and re-arranged at a later time.



words *ca. paxada chota gya* which I have translated literally as "about 1½ fathoms (to 2) as "the *chota* of the *goda* temple." From this expression, we may perhaps infer that already by the 2nd century B.C. some kind of temple stood close to the Bodhi Tree. Except for the inclusion of the words *ca. paxada* I should have come to refer this expression to the Bodhi Tree itself. In modern Indian literature such trees are often called "*chota*," but I am not aware of any instance, where an expression like *ca. paxada chota gya* is ever used to refer to, and, for this reason, I like to see how we can avoid the conclusion that already in the 2nd century B.C. there existed some kind of temple at Bodhi Gaya. In regard to this building, however, we know only this much, that it is not identical with the present temple *at Chota*, perhaps, it may have stood at more or less the same place where the temple is now.

### III. Brahmanical worship at Bodh Gaya.



FIG. 3

Fig. 3. Inscription of the time of Dharmapala, from Bodhi Gaya.

It will be known to most readers of this article that, at present, the temple at Bodhi Gaya, the Bodhi Tree and the sacred area around it are the property of a Brahminical Mahant, the head of an order of Śaivite secties. So far as I know, the claim of the Mahant of Bodhi Gaya to the ownership of the Temple and its surroundings is based on some *grants* or *grants*, given to his predecessors in the 16th or 17th century A.D. by one of the Mughal Emperors, either Akbar, Jahāngir or Shah Jahan. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence still available to us, by the help of which it is possible to prove that the two great Brahmanical sects, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, have established themselves at Bodhi Gaya at a much

This word, "an abbot, the chief of a monastic establishment," is derived from Skt. *Mahārtha*, a high rank; hence it spells currently *mahant*, and not *mahant*, as it is usually written.

early return, long before this sacred place had been deserted and given up by the Buddhists.

The oldest reference known to me of the existence of Śaivas at Bodhi Gayā is the tradition which Hiuen Tsiang has recorded in regard to the Temple at that place. He tells us the following story:—

"The present temple had been built by a Brahmin acting on advice given to him by Śiva in the Snow Mountains and the neighbouring tank had been built by the Brahmin's brother also according to Śiva's advice."

It is of slight importance what amount of historical truth we may attribute to this tradition. The mere fact that, at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Bodhi Gayā, this story was current among the Buddhists at that place, and that neither the Buddhists who told him the story, nor the Chinese pilgrim himself, considered such a tradition incredible and absurd, appears to me sufficient proof of the fact that, at those days, Buddhists and Śaivas met together on many occasions at Bodhi Gayā, as they probably also did at many other sacred places in India. Of the intimate relations which at that time existed between Buddhists and Śaivas, we still have one very remarkable testimony. It is a well-known fact that, during the period between 400 and 800 A.D., or, may be, even a little earlier, in Buddhist mythology Indra was supplanted by Śiva, or rather by the Buddhist figure of Śiva, called Lōkōśvara or Avalōkitōśvara.\* At that time, Indra must have lost a great amount of his popularity among the people of Northern India, and Śiva, like Indra himself originally a personification of the thunderstorm, had become the popular deity.<sup>2</sup>

The reflex of this important change in the popular mythology of Northern India, which we observe in Buddhism is the introduction of a new Bōdhisattva Lōkōśvara, or Avalōkitōśvara, who, like the Buddhist counterpart of Buddha, as we have already seen, is a personification of the thunderstorm. And I think we cannot over-estimate upon places like Bodhi Gayā, Mathura, or some other localities as a result of this very remarkable development.

We still possess an interesting epigraphical document in support of what I have said above about the early occurrence of Śaivism at Bodhi Gayā. The stone containing this inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.<sup>3</sup> It shows three figures, Surya, Śiva, and Viśṇu, all of very crude fabric. Surya, to the proper right may be easily recognized by the two lotus-flowers and by the sword on his left side. Likewise we cannot fail to recognize Śiva in the central figure, although the club held in his left arm is somewhat peculiar. However, the

\* Watters, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Brahmā was turned into the Bōdhisattva Mañdhārā, the future Buddha. This important change must have occurred in the North-West of India, where, during the reign of the Kushana kings, the Buddhists had come into contact with the Zoroastrians. For the Buddhist idea of a future Buddha, Mañdhārā, like the Jewish and Christian idea of the future appearance of the Messiah, evidently both must be traced back to the Zoroastrian belief in the Saoshyant, the future saviour of mankind, a fact, to which Professor G. Grunwedel has called attention more than ten years ago.

<sup>3</sup> The peasants of Bihar, *e.g.*, now attribute the rain to Śiva, as their ancestors did to Indra, many hundred years ago. I have myself heard the following expression used by peasants in Bihar during heavy rain: *My Mahādēv kṛtā dān hai*, "Today is the great day of Mahādēv (Śiva)."

<sup>4</sup> See text illustration No. 3. A facsimile of the inscription has been published by Cunningham, *Mukutodaka*, Plate XXVII, 2, and a very incorrect reading and translation will be found on page 63 ff. of the same book.

<sup>5</sup> I have seen figures of Śiva, wielding a club, in Bihar and Bengal, which were described to me as images of Bhairava. Apparently all of them were of recent date.



The 26th regnal year of Dharmapala probably fell somewhere between A.D. 850 and 950, but although the day (5th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, 18) is compared with the name of the presiding deity Saturday, *Sanur-Bhāskaraṅga*, (i.e. *Sanaśchāra*, Saturn), it would, I am afraid, be a mere waste of time to enumerate all the possible European equivalents of the date during this period, all the more so, as the date falls in the dark fortnight of the month when the number of possible choices naturally increases considerably, as the date may have been recorded either according to the *purnimanta* or the *amanta* scheme of lunar fortnights. However, the approximate European value, given above, probably cannot be very far from the truth, and we thus know, for certain, that a congregation of Śaiva sects (*tantrikas*) had established themselves at Bodhi Gaya towards the close of the 9th, or the beginning of the 10th century A.D., that is, at a time when Buddhism still is known to have flourished in Bodhi Gaya as well as all over Magadha or Bihar.

I am unfortunately not in a position to point to any inscription or other historical record, which might help us to settle the date of the "Vasudhara-nivas" of Bodhi Gaya, if I may use this expression. So far as I am aware, the earliest reference in literature to the birth of Buddha Avatara of Vishnu's second Kshētravardh's *Dusātara-charita*, a work of the 12th century A.D. Among the many recensions representing the incarnation of Vishnu, I have met with only one or two in Bihar on which the Buddha Avatara appeared prominently, while I can not surprise us to find this birth Avatara omitted also in a few septuagintal representations of the same subject, dating, perhaps, from the 7th or 8th centuries A.D., which I have seen in the Central Provinces. We are, however, to a certain degree compensated for the loss of clearer chronological evidence by the fact that we can still trace the way in which the story of the Buddha Avatara of Vishnu originated. It was at Bodhi Gaya itself, where Vishnu became incarnate as Lord Buddha, if I may say so, and the Vasudhara first did not identify Buddha himself with Vishnu, but the sacred Bodhi Tree, which to the pious Buddhists still forms the centre of the Universe, as the cross of Christ on Mount Golgotha to millions of Christians.

Of this interesting fact, the *Prayogas*, or books on ritual, prescribed for Vasudhara pilgrims at Gaya and the sacred *trithas* in its neighbourhood, still afford us very clear evidence. Thus, in Munirāma's *Gaya-gotrāprayoga* we read the

silver *śukla* (or *vāpāyā*) i-kull-dār, i.e. "coins (or rupees) of full weight." Silver coins from the pre-Mughal period in Bengal, generally bear a number of patches, put on them by the bankers through whose hands the money must pass, just as people in India bankers as well as private individuals, are still in the habit of putting their names on modern currency notes, before they pass them on. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the modern equivalent of the *drasmas* of the time of Dharmapala. The *drasmas* of those days must have been a gold, or silver coin, weighing about 100 grains, in passing, that the word *drasmas* goes back to the Greek *δραχμή*. We still see this old coin name very frequently in India, although we now use the word *rupee* for the modern Indian word *rupee*. For the modern Indian word *rupee* goes back to the Greek word *ῥοπή*. In Akbar's time the *rupee* was a copper coin, weighing some 250 or 300 grains, of which not less than forty went into the *hukka*. There is no clearer evidence than this, to show the depreciation of the market value of the *rupee* in modern India.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the Manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sanskrit MS. III., D, 27, fo. 17-A.



following in reference to the fourth laya, which the pilgrim has to visit Bodhi Gayā and the *tirthas* close to that place:—

*Tat Dharmam Dhammesu nam Mahābodhi dhammam cha yithak amam namat*

*Tatra mantruh* :—

*Namas-to-bodhi-rajaya Brahma-Vishnu-Siva-ātmanē* !

*Bodhidrumāya kartriyam pitrām mātṛāṇāṃ ca*

*Yasmat-kalē mātṛivāhāc bāudhana durgatim gatah* !

*Evad-darśanāt-sparśanāc-cha scargatim yānta te=kaṣayam* !

*Riṣa-trayaṁ mayā dattam Gayam-āgatyā vṛkkaḥorāt* !

*Tat-prasādāt-oham muḥyē namaśrūṣaṇa-āgarāt* !

Then after he should bow toward the Dharmā, Dharmesu, and the Mahābodhi tree in the order. On this occasion the following verses have occurred.

Adoration to thee, noble one of the Bodhi Tree whose seed is Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva, (a devotee of seeing one's ancestors and fathers). The reason is that you will and may neither see nor go, have gone to hell, may they at once be saved, even if you are through seeing me, during thee. Oh noble one! I have paid off a tremendous debt by coming to Gayā, may I be saved from the ocean of re-births through thy favour."

These verses, like so many of the pilgrims' songs, would have remained in a local collection. Nāṭyanāth's *trayaṁ śubhāṅga-pādhat*<sup>1</sup> still reflects this same idea of the great importance which the Bodhi Tree from the beginning must have had in connection with the ancestor worship of Gayā and Bodhi Gayā. It is true that in the verses from Manikā's *trayaṁ śubhāṅga-pādhat* this tree is mentioned not only with Vishnu but also with Brahmā and Śiva. However I do not think that we should in any way be misled by giving too much weight to this fact. Manikā's lack is a very comfortable one, and I have expected and here merely intended to show that it is the Bodhi Tree itself and not Bodhi to whom the Brahmanical pilgrims address their prayers at Bodhi Gayā. After the tree has been identified with Vishnu it was only natural that Brahmā and Śiva likewise came to be identified with it. The Brahmanical pilgrims at Gayā worship, besides several other sacred trees in the course of their *pūjā* an "eel-bell-offering" the best known among which is, perhaps, "the eternal eucalyptus tree," *ekakṣogacatu*, near the Praptonal-śvāmin enormous *linga* with one human head. The tree itself, as we know from the *pāṇyoga* and an inscription of the early part of the 16th century A.D., is identified with Brahmā *praptonāhu* and we thus have here a clear analogy to what I have just said in reference to the Brahmanical worship at Bodhi Gayā. Moreover, at Bodhi Gayā itself, there still stands to the north of the temple a second *pīpal* tree larger and finer than the Bodhi Tree. An illustration of this second *pīpal* tree to the north of the temple is published on Plate L. It is evident that this second tree was planted by the Brahmanical worshippers at Bodhi Gayā for their own sacred rites, for the tree stands to the north of the Temple, and a Hindu offering rice-balls to his dead ancestors has to turn his face to the north, the point of the horizon

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, p. 150 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. for myself, for my ancestor, and for my children.

<sup>3</sup> As Bco. of Bengal, Sanskrit MS. D. 20





{*ārya*}[*aya*] [*u*]*payogāya mahantam=ādharam khānitam, tad-anupūrratā ch=ā*  
*prahā'aka-kshētram=atpūditam. Tad=etat=sarveam yan=maya puṇy-opachita-*  
*sambhāram tan=malapitrōh<sup>1</sup> p[āreṅgamam kṛitā . . .]*

I have given the text of the inscription as it stands, without correcting a few mistakes, like: *Khaṇḍa-sphāṭita-pratisamarodhane* l. 1, read *pratisamaru-dhanyā*; *mahantam=ādharam khānitam* (l. 2; read *mahad=ādharam*), etc. The Sanskrit is more or less incorrect, as in the majority of later Buddhist inscriptions in India. Likewise the construction of the last sentence, *Tad=etat=sarveam yan=maya puṇy-opachita-sambhāram*, etc., appears to have been faulty. However, the meaning of the inscription, as we still have it, remains beyond dispute.

#### Translation.

l. 1) . . . . . has been made, where the great *Gandhakuṭi* of Vajrāsana (i.e. Buddha) is. The temple has been adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint, at the cost of 250 *dināras*. And in the temple a lamp of *ghee* has been provided for the Lord Buddha by the gift of a hundred cows, for as long as moon, sun, and stars shall endure. Also, by another hundred cows, in addition to the cost of small, perpetually recurring repairs to the temple, provision has been made for another lamp of *ghee*, to be burnt only before the image inside the temple. (By another hundred cows provision has been made for having a lamp of *ghee* burnt before the brass image of the Lord Buddha at the Monastery (*śāhara*)). . .

l. 2). . . . . a perpetual endowment of a lamp [of *ghee*] has been made for the benefit of the Monastery. There also . . . a large water reservoir has been dug out for the use of the noble congregation of monks, and to the east of it, a new field has been laid out. Whatever merit may have been acquired by me by all this, may this be for the benefit of my parents [at first . . . . .].

The word *cajamaṇa* (l. 3) is obviously not what as a name of Buddha, the meaning which it clearly has in this inscription.

The word *gandhakuṭi* means a chamber, where Buddha used to reside; hence 'a shrine, containing an image of Buddha'. It would be useless to try and find out which of the many small shrines, the foundations of which cover the ground all around the temple at Bodhi Gayā, has been referred to in this inscription. Possibly the "large temple on the west side of the Bodhi Tree," mentioned by Hsueh Tsung may be meant.

By 250 *dināras* probably the well-known gold coins of Gupta mintage are meant. In modern Indian currency, the value of this sum would come to about 2,500 or 3,000 rupees which appears quite a big sum for renewing the plaster and paint of the temple at Bodhi Gayā. However, we may include a good deal of stucco-work (*andhā*) and besides, the rates for skilled painters (*depya*) and modellers very likely may have been higher than for ordinary workmen. Thus the cost of the repairs probably was not altogether too high, considering that they included a large amount of "special work," for which, of course, "special rates" had to be charged in the 6th and 7th centuries as well as in the 19th and 20th centuries A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The letter *ā* has been shown below the line.

*Ṭhore=ṭ Bhaṇarato caḍga-Buddha-pratima[yaṃ]* 11. This "brass image of the Lord Buddha in the Monastery" may be the famous image of Buddha made, according to tradition, by Mañdriya, the so-called "Life-portrait," which appears to have been kept near the *Mahābodhi-śekhara*. Hsuei Tsang describes it as an image "made of gold and silver, and ornamented by precious stones of various colours." In reality, however, it may have been of brass, but gilded and covered with silver filigree, besides a bronze (*ṭhore*) standing image of the Buddha adorned with precious stones" mentioned by Hsuei Tsang. However, this image stood in "a large temple on the west side of the Bodhi Tree," and if it is referred to at all in the above inscription, I would suggest that the legend of the first line, *Ṭaprasaṇa-gaṇthakuta*, might possibly apply to this particular image. It is interesting to find special mention made in the inscription of the fact that the image of Buddha was of brass (*caḍga*). In the inscription on the base of another image of the Bodhi-sattva from Bodhi Gayā, which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of which Cœdès et al. has published an illustration, it is expressly mentioned that the image was made of stone (*kāṣṭhika* *Bodhi-sattva-pratima* m. 12). In those early days images of the Buddha, or the Bodhi-sattva, were still of comparatively rare occurrence, and it cannot, accordingly, surprise us to find special mention made in the inventory of which these two images were constructed, *viz.* brass (*caḍga*) and stone (*kāṣṭhika*).

In other respects, this interesting inscription does not seem to end, for any further comment. The temple (*prasaṇa*) naturally must have been the same edifice which we still have at the present day, although it certainly has undergone a number of alterations, since its structure and painting were renewed in the 6th or 7th century A.D. The Monastery (*śekhara*), was, of course, the great *Saṅghārāma*, "outside of the north gate of the Bodhi Tree," built by a famous king of Ceylon. Its buildings formed six courts with terraces and halls of three storeys.<sup>1</sup> The remains of this stately building, perhaps one of the largest *Saṅghārāmas* that ever existed in India, still lie buried beneath the high plateau, stretching to a considerable extent to the north and west of the Temple and the sacred area of the Bodhi Tree. The excavation of this very promising and important site is one of the most urgent claims which the higher interests of Indian and Buddhist history, mythology, and art have during the near future, and I trust that we shall not have to wait for many years, before the Archaeological Department in India is able to begin work at the *Mahābodhi-Saṅghārāma*.

I add merely a few short epigraphical records of some pilgrims from distant countries, who had come to Bodhi Gayā during its palmy days, between 600 and 1200 A.D., and even earlier.

<sup>1</sup> Watters, *loc. cit.* p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *loc. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābodhi*, Plate XXV. I may mention in passing, that the robe, worn by the Bodhi-sattva in this image, still has retained its original coating of a dense, reddish-brown *kāṣṭhika* paint. The face and chest show the natural grey colour of the sandstone, from which the image is made. They, probably, too original coating of black, rose paint, which, however, did not act as the *kāṣṭhika* painting of the *śekhara*, and of the Bodhi.

<sup>4</sup> Watters, *l. c.* p. 130.

## V. Pilgrims from Ceylon.

In addition to the well-known inscriptions of Mahanama from Bodhi Gaya, I am able to publish three further epigraphs of Ceylonese visitors to Bodhi Gaya, dating from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 850.

The first is written on one of the bars of the ancient stone railing around the temple. Its characters agree in every detail with the inscriptions of Kurangi, Indragamatra, and Brahmanatra on the same railing referred to above (pp 147 ff), and it is evident that it belongs to the same period (2nd century B.C.). A facsimile of this short inscription has been published by Cunningham (Plate X, No. 3), from which I read as follows—*Bodhakkhettaṃ Te m[ā]hapa[m]nakaraḍḍaṃ*, i.e., "the gift of Bodhakkhetta from Ceylon (Tamariparna)."

Next in time follows an inscription in two lines, written on a broken fragment of the coping stone of the ancient railing which is at present lying on the ground on the southern side of the Temple at Bodhi Gaya. Its characters agree in every respect with the writing of the inscription from the same railing published above, p. 153. The inscription tells us that a monk (*accharana*) belonging to the royal family of Ceylon, whose personal proper name appears to have been, *Prakhyata-kietti* (v. 1.), made a *kara*<sup>1</sup> at the place sacred to the "three jewels" (*ratnatraya*<sup>2</sup> v. 2) "for the peace of mankind, wishing to attain to the state of a Buddha" (v. 2). The mutilated 3rd verse contains the usual precatory formula, expressive of a wish that whatever merit may be acquired by this pious act should be for the benefit of the teacher and parents of the donor, as well as for the well-being of humanity in general.

The following is a transcript of this inscription<sup>3</sup> :—

1. 1.) *Lankadripa-narendranāṭṭha Śāmanāh kulajozdhavat* [1\*]  
*Prakhyatakietti=dharma-nāṭṭha āraṅkul-anhara-chandramāh* [1]\*]  
*Bhaktva ta bhikkhūna=ānēna Buddhāna=abhiṅgaṃkhatā* [1\*]  
*kara ratna-trayaḥ samāgata=kariṭa kantaṇa nymāna* [1(2)\*]  
*Tatā mayā yat=kubalaṭṭha hy=upārjitaṃ*  
*tad=atya=upādhi(yā)ya* — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 (1. 2.) *Subhēna tē=aina [pha]lēna yejyatām* [1(3)\*]

Translation.<sup>4</sup>

"There was a pious monk, Prakhyatakietti {by name}, born from the house of the rulers of the Isle of Lanka (Ceylon) and a moon in the sky of his race. Out of devotion that Firm, longing to attain Buddha-hood, caused a *kara* to be duly

<sup>1</sup> Two small blank spots above the letters *te* and *pa* look almost like signs of the Anuvāsa.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know in what sense this word has been employed here. I can hardly imagine it to mean "a person" as it generally does. For a Buddhist priest certainly was not a person to be feared and respected and of supreme peace of a Buddha" as *Prakhyatakietti* and when he had thus attained have thought of "attainment to the state of a Buddha."

<sup>3</sup> This expression, again, is not clear to me. I suppose, however, that it may refer to some sacred spot within the Bodhi area at Bodhi Gaya, where perhaps a symbol of the "three jewels" i.e. *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Saṅgha* may have stood, having the shape of three wheels, placed upon a pillar, like similar symbols known to us from other ancient Buddhist localities in India.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2 *Anuṣṭup* (10 feet), of verse 3 *Paśjattala*.  
<sup>5</sup> Translation by the editor.



made at the Trinitia for the peace of men. Whatever merit, therefore, I have acquired thence, it will be [for the benefit of] the teacher . . . . . May he be provided with that very fruit of bliss."

The third inscription is an *Anushûbh* verse (*śloka*) written in two lines in characters of about the 9th or 10th century A.D. on the broken pedestal of a Buddhist statue, now kept inside the scripture shed to the north of the Temple at Bôdh Gaya. This pedestal, besides containing such alaya figures, representing from right to left the following:—(a) two small kneeling devotees, mother and son; (b) a horse; (c) a wheel; (d) a sword; (e) a conch-shell (*śankha*); (f) a diademed male figure seated; (g) perhaps a wheel; (h) a seated female figure; (i) a lotus flower with some indistinct object over it; (k) an elephant; (l) a kneeling male figure holding a garland.

I take the figure of a male (l) as a portrait of the donor of the statue, Udayasri from Ceylon, and the female with boy (a) as a portrait of his wife and son. The intermediate symbols (b to k) evidently represent the nine jewels (*nava-ratnam*), so often referred to in Buddhist scriptures. The word *bhagavan* in the inscription apparently refers to the statue itself, to which this pedestal belonged.<sup>1</sup>

#### Transcript.

- (l. 1) *Kāritô Bhagavān-ēcha Saimholên-Udayasriyâ |*  
*dukkh-āmbhônidhi-nirmagna-jayad-uddhara-*  
 (l. 2) *ṇ-ēchchhayâ.*

#### Translation.<sup>2</sup>

"This [image of the] Lord was caused to be made by the Sinhalese Udayasri wishing to escape from the world which is submerged in an ocean of woe."

### IV. A Pilgrim from Lower Bengal.

This inscription is written in characters of about the 10th century A.D. on the base of a life-size image of Buddha, standing, attended by Avalôkitesvara and Maîtreya. This statue is now in the staircase, leading up to the platform of the temple, on the northern side. There are, besides, several other inscriptions on this image, generally repetitions of the usual formula: *Ye dharmā hetu-prabhava*, etc., and near the right shoulder of Buddha is written the following *śloka*:

#### Transcript

- (l. 1). *Om .\** *Amra sahha-mārggāṇ pparishô Loka-nayakah [1\*]*  
 (l. 2). *ataēcha bôdhi-mārggō-yathā*  
 (l. 3). *môksha-mārggā-prakôśakah.*

<sup>1</sup> In modern Indian *bhagavān* is a general expression applied to any animal, if the animal belongs even to a heap of earth, a stone, or a piece of wood.

<sup>2</sup> Translation by the editor



*Translation.*

" Since the Lord of the world (sc. Buddha) has entered this noble path, the way to spiritual enlightenment shows [us] the way to salvation."

The inscription on the base runs as follows:—

*Transcript*

- (l. 1). *Sri-Samataṭikāḥ pravara-Mu-*  
 (l. 2). *hāyāna-gāyinaḥ śrīmat-Sāmapura-mahā-*  
 (l. 3). *śikharīya-vinaya-vit-athavira-Viryēndrasya* [1\*]  
 (l. 4). *Yad=uttra puṇya=lad-bharato-achāry-ōpā-*  
 (l. 5). *[dhyāya]-mātāpitrī-pūrvanāgamam kṛitē sakala-*  
 (l. 6). *[satto-rāṣṭrē]=anuttara-jñānācūptaya .i.*

*Translation*<sup>2</sup>

" [Gift] of the son of monk Viryendra, a knower of the Vinaya and an inmate of the great monastery of Samatara, an adherent of the Samatara country and a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna system. Whatsoever merit there is in this gift, let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom, the first place by [his] teachers, preceptors and parents, and of the whole multitude of sentient beings."

I have found it unnecessary to correct the wrong spellings in line 5. This part of the well-known formula is mis-spelt in almost every inscription on a medieval Buddhist image which I have seen in Bihar and Bengal.

I am unable to identify Sāmapura, a village or town in Lower Bengal (*Samatara*), where the great monastery, *śrīmat-Sāmapura* was situated, to which the *athavira* Viryendra belonged, who, as we learn from the inscription, was a follower of the "excellent Mahāyāna doctrine" (ll. 1 and 2), and who "knew the Vinaya" (*śikharīya*, l. 3). The latter expression, probably, like similar ones known to us from other Buddhist inscriptions, meant that Viryendra had learnt the Vinayapitaka, or rather the corresponding texts in the canon of Mahāyāna scriptures, by heart, and was able to recite them for the benefit of others, or as we would say now-a-days, "to lecture on the rules of good conduct in accordance with the Mahāyāna doctrine of Buddhism."

T. BLOCH.

<sup>1</sup> This should of course be either *Samataṭikāya* or *Samataṭika*.

<sup>2</sup> Translation by the editor.

## NAGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT MATHURA.

MATHURĀ, that important centre of both art and cult, has already yielded a tangible proof of the existence of Naga worship in the form of a stone slab (height, 3' 2"), now in the Lucknow Museum, which bears an inscription in Brahmi of the Kushana period. It was read by Bühler<sup>1</sup>:

### Text.

*Siddham Sam 26 va 3 di 5, etasya pu[r]vāyam Bhagavat[ō] Nāgāndrasya  
Dadhikarnasya at[ā]ne kilopatt[ā]pantiśh[ā]pitā Mathurānam śatśatānam Chāṇḍa-  
k[ā]g[ā] hrat[ā]śh[ā] it[ā] vish[ā]yamananam kasham patr[ā]he Nandibala-pramukhehi  
d[ā]rak[ā]hi m[ā]ta-pit[ā]nam aprapratyāśatōye bhavatu sarvasattoṇnam hita, sukha  
[rtham] bhavatu.*

### Translation.

"Success! In the year 26, in the 3rd month of the rainy season, on the 5th day.] On this date a stone slab was set up in the place sacred to the divine lord of snakes, Dadhikarna, by the boys, chief among whom was Nandibala, the sons of the actors of Mathura who are being praised as the Chāṇḍaka brothers. May [the merit of this gift] be by preference for their parents; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!"

Professor Bühler was informed by Dr. Fuhrer that the latter had found the slab in the course of his excavations at the Kankali Tīn, namely, on the pavement of the court near the brick *stupa* adjoining the two Jaina temples. Notwithstanding this apparently accurate notation of the find-place of this inscription, I must point out that the information supplied by Dr. Fuhrer was evidently wrong; for the same inscription had already been noted by Mr. Growse, who published a hand-copy of it in the second edition of his *Mathura* which appeared in 1880, *viz.*, eight years before Dr. Fuhrer began his exploration of the Kankali Tīn. Mr. Growse states definitely that the slab came from the Jamālpur mound.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.* V. 1, p. 390 (no. 39), p. xxxi. Cf. also, *Mathura*, 2nd ed. 1880, p. 108 with plate. My reading of the date is based on Growse's facsimile.

This statement is of great interest. We know that the Jamalpur site situated 1½ miles south of the city of Mathura and now occupied by the Collector's court-house represents the site of a Buddhist *Vihāra* founded by King Huvishka in the year 47 of Kanishka's era. We may assume that this particular spot was selected for the King's sanctuary, because it was of old the place sacred to the "Lunar lord of Nagas Daśakārpa". Unfortunately the first line of the inscription containing the date is badly damaged. The hand-copy published by Mr. Grierson shows two figures indicating the year which are no longer extant on the stone. They appear to represent the numerals 20 and 6. The stone retains traces of a vertical line between this figure and the preceding so there is sufficient space for another figure. If 20 is the true date of the inscription, it would prove that the spot was associated with the worship of the Naga Daśakārpa previous to the foundation of Huvishka's *Vihāra*.

This is confirmed by another epigraph found on a pillar-base which must have belonged to this very *Vihāra*. It records that the object on which it is inscribed was the gift of Devdā, "a servant of the shrine of Daśakārpa". It is not a little curious to find a Naga priest taking part in the building of a Buddhist sanctuary. From this inscription it is also clear that the Naga possessed his own shrine (*śrāvakula*) not far from Huvishka's *Vihāra*.

Professor Lacoursière to whom we owe the interpretation of the pillar-base inscription notes that the name of Daśakārpa is found in a list of Nagas quoted by Hēmaprabhāra in his own commentary on the *Abhidharmachintāmaṇi*. As stated by Bühler, his name occurs also in the *Harivansa* where he is invoked in the "Snake-spell" (Skt. *śaṅku-māntṛa*) the early prayer which is said to have been recited originally by Baladēva and after him by Kṛishṇa.

In April 1905 Pandit Radha Kṛishṇa acquired for the Mathura Museum a life-size Naga statue of unusual interest (N. C. 13, height 7' 8", in churning snake-hood (Plate LIII). He discovered it at the village of Chhargan, 5 miles almost due south of Mathura. The Naga is shown standing with his right arm raised over his head as if ready to strike. The left hand is broken, but probably held a cup in front of the shoulder. The figure wears a *dhōṭi* and an upper garment which is tied round the waist in a mode peculiar to sculptures of the Kushana period. A necklace can be traced on the chest. The spirited attitude of the figure deserves special notice. The head is surmounted by a seven-headed snake-hood showing that the figure represents a Naga.

This is, moreover, definitely stated in a well-preserved inscription (Plate LIV) of six lines carved on the back of the sculpture. I read it:—

#### Text.

1. *Maharajasya vajrāṭṭirajasya Huvishkoṣya saratsara cha[ṭ]a[ṭ]vīsa* 40
2. *hēmatta-masē 2 divasē 22 ētta puroṇyā*
3. *Śaṅkasti [cha] Pīṇḍapayya-putrō Bhōṇuke cha*
4. *Vīrasiddhi-putrō ētti vāyasyā ubhāyā*
5. *Nāgō[ḥ] prattistāp[ṭ]ti pūshka anayya[ṭ]u*
6. *śaṅkayyā Priyyatī Bhagavā Nāgō.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 102 f. No. 10.

PLATE VII. C. 121 MATHE.



121 MATHE.



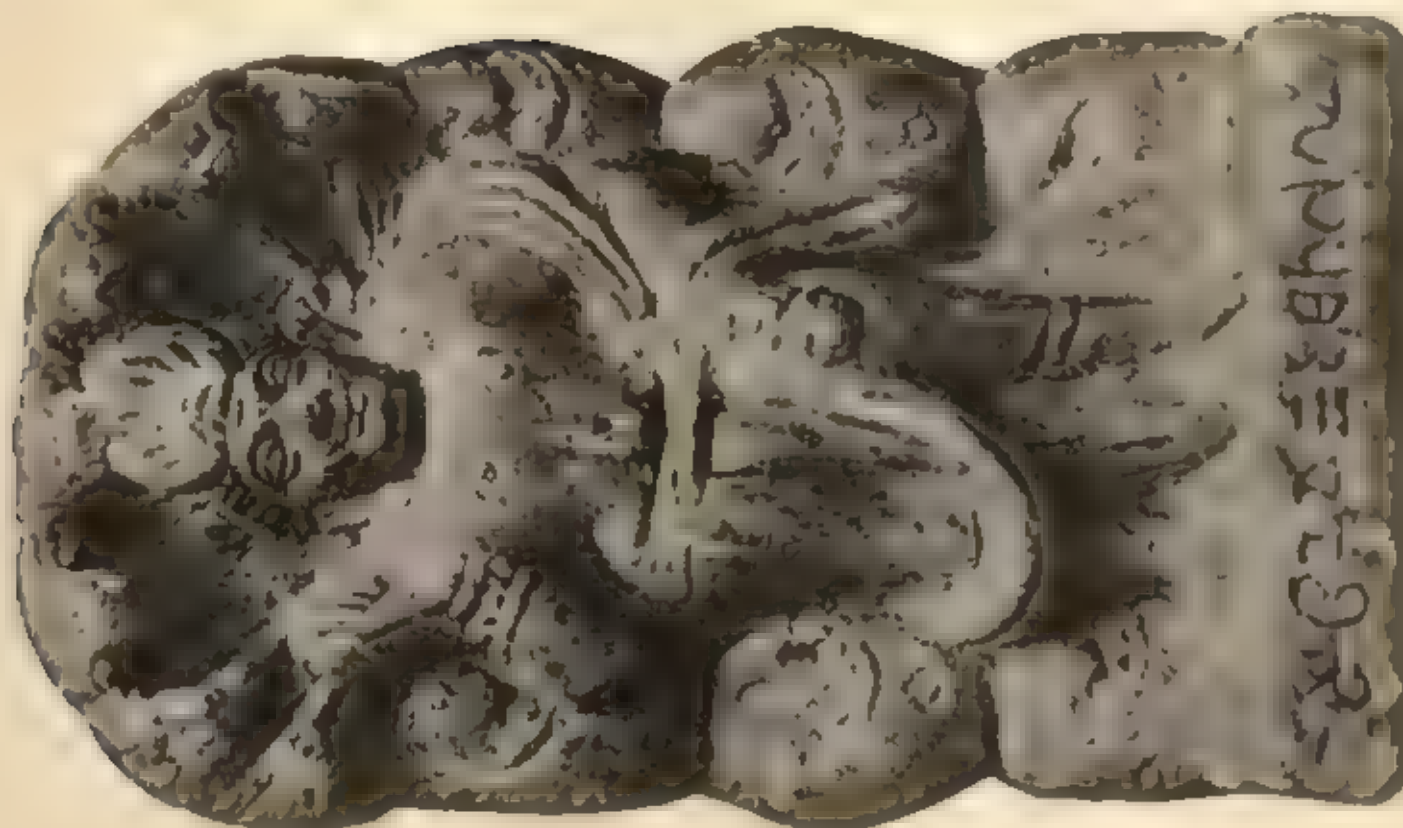
121 MATHE.

NAGA STATUE FR. M. CHHATGAL.

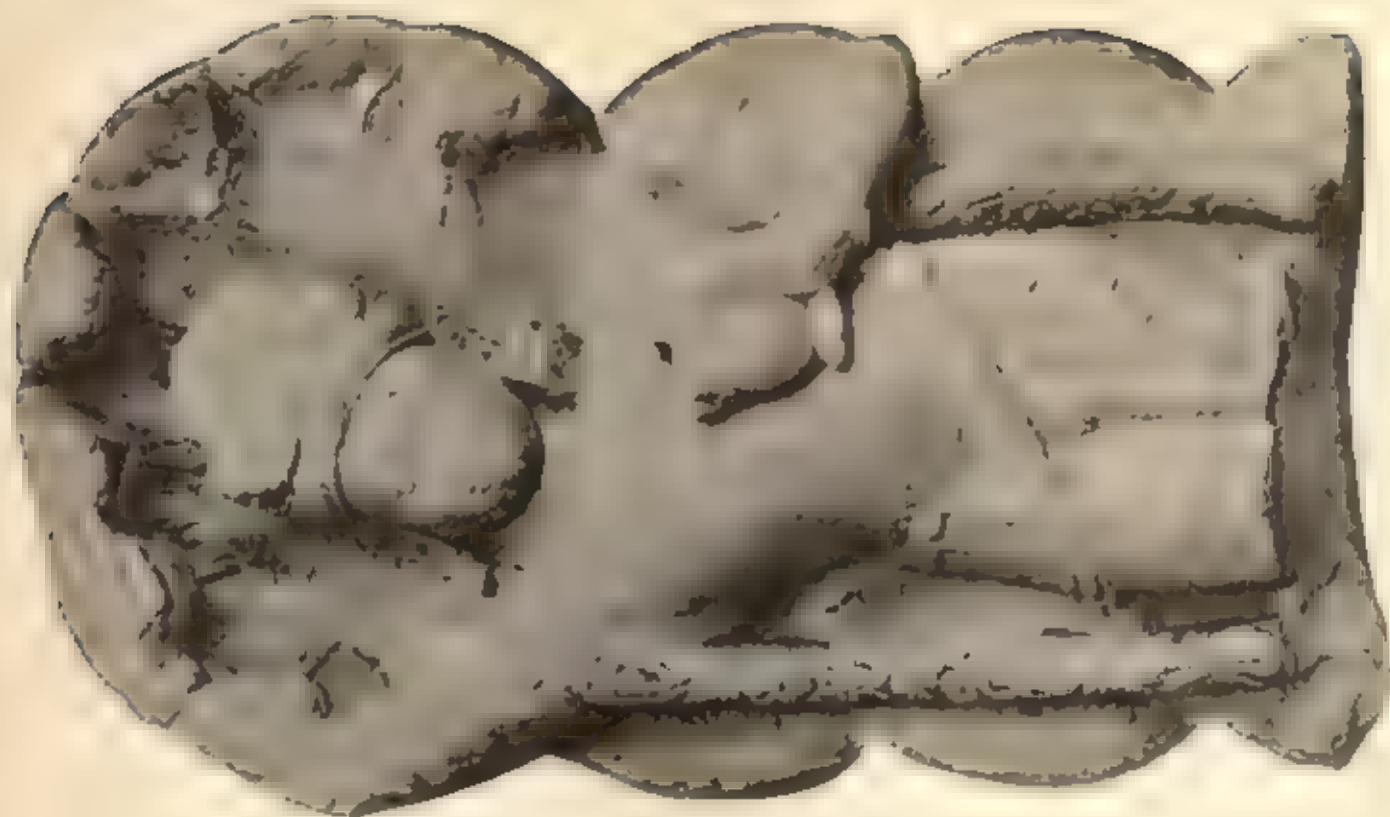




NAGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT MATHURA



[S] NAGA FIGURE FROM MATHURA CITY



[S] NAGA FIGURE FROM MUKARJAM



*Translation.*

" In the fortieth year, 10, of the king, the king of kings Haviska, in the second month of winter, the 23rd day. On this date Se-alabstia, the son of Pindipayva and Bhayaka, the son of Vravallha—these two courtiers—erect[ed] both [this] Nāga at their own tank. May the Lord Nāga be pleased! "<sup>1</sup>

Since the discovery of the Chhargan Naga, it has become apparent that this interesting naga represents a fixed type of which several specimens have now come to light. First of all, I must mention a sculpture in the Mathura Museum (No. C15, height 3 1/2") which Mr. Growse obtained from Kukergan, in the Sahibzad *taluk* (Plate LIV). The lower portion of this figure beneath the knees is missing, but for the rest it is better preserved than the Chhargan Naga. Here the *cap* of the left hand is distinct. From the shoulder a wreath of festoons hangs down and must have reached beneath the knees. This garland is a well-known feature of medieval Brahmanical sculptures. The Naga is characterised by a canopy of seven snake-heads, each provided with a forked tongue.

A third Naga image, much defaced but similar in attitude to those just described, came from the village of Khannu, 6 miles west of Mathurā, on the road to Gaurdhan. It is also placed in the local Museum (No. C16, height 1 5/7"). Not far from the village of Dauli, 8 miles east of the same city, I saw the upper portion of a Naga figure, about 4" high, which is locally known as the *image* of *Baladev* and is placed at a tank called *Ba-ka Pokhar*. It is considerably worn, but may be safely ascribed to the Kushana period.

The village of Badāy, 8 miles south-east of Mathurā, derives its name from an image which is supposed to represent Baladeva or Balarama, the elder brother of Krishna, but which, to judge from the description, appears to be nothing but an ancient Naga figure.

Likewise Pācet Ralla Krishna succeeded in purchasing a Naga statuette (No. C 21, height 9 1/2") which was being worshipped in a shrine of Mathurā city as *Dāuji*, i.e. Baladeva (Plate LIV a). This sculpture is of particular interest as it bears an inscription in Brahmi of the Kushana period which I read: *Sa 52 va 3 di 25 Bhagava to* "in the year 52, the 3rd month of the rainy season, the 25th day, (of) the Lord." This statuette is therefore only twelve years later in date than the Naga of Chhargan, though it is very inferior in style. Here the right hand is not raised over the head, but held against the shoulder with the palm to front. The left hand holds a small vessel. Thus the figure could be easily taken for a Matrēya, were it not that the seven-headed serpent-hood clearly indicates a Naga.

It is not a little curious that such ancient Naga images found in the Mathura district are now-a-days regularly worshipped as *Dāuji* or *Baldev*. Modern images of this deity which are manufactured in such large numbers at Mathura and Brindaban, are nothing but imitations of the ancient Naga figures. Thus will be evident at once from the white marble statuette purchased at Brindaban for the Mathura

<sup>1</sup> A similar formula occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the end of other Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushana period. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. I, p. 386, no viii and IX, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Mathurā* (3rd ed.) p. 169, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV (1873), Part I, p. 315, plate XLV.

Museum (No. D 36, height 1' 5½" and here reproduced (Plate LV, b). It is an unmistakable, though degenerate, descendant of the Uharzāon Nāga. The snake-hood is said to indicate that Baladeva was an incarnation of the Nāga Śeṣha\* and the cup in his left hand is explained as referring to his drinking propensities. But we may assume that these are explanations invented to make the ancient Naga image suit its novel role of Baladeva. In the present instance the image was not fashioned after the legend, but the legend had to be shaped after the image.

Or may we go so far as to assert that the mythical personage of Baladeva was developed from a Naga lord, in other words, can we trace the worship of a Naga Baladeva or Balarāma which became absorbed into Krishnism when this cult rose into prominence? And are we thus to interpret the tradition preserved in the Harivaṃśa which ascribes the origin of the snake-spell to Baladeva? It deserves notice that in a place in the *Mahābhārata* Baladeva is reckoned among the Nāgas, and the *Āyutpatti* makes mention of a Nagaṛāja of the same name. The complexion of Krishna is blue, but that of Baladeva is white, whilst his garment has the colour of the clouds. It is certainly a curious feature of the Krishna legend that Krishna should be called the younger brother of Baladeva, though undoubtedly he is at present the more important of the two. Baladeva, "the plough-bearer," is essentially an agricultural deity. So were the ancient Nāgas who are very closely connected with water—that element all-important for agriculture. In a modern Naga temple at the village of Tur near Bān in Chamba State I have seen miniature wooden yokes which were given as offerings, whenever a young bull was yoked to the plough for the first time.

It seems indeed very natural that the Bhāgavatas, like the Buddhists before them, sought to adapt the popular worship of the Nāgas to their new religion. The Buddhists converted the Nāgas into devotees of the Lord Buddha. The worshippers of Krishna followed a different course. They bearded the Naga image to represent the elder brother of the divine hero. In both cases the conversion to the new faith was thus made easy and the rural population could persist in worshipping the familiar snake-hooded idols under a different name.

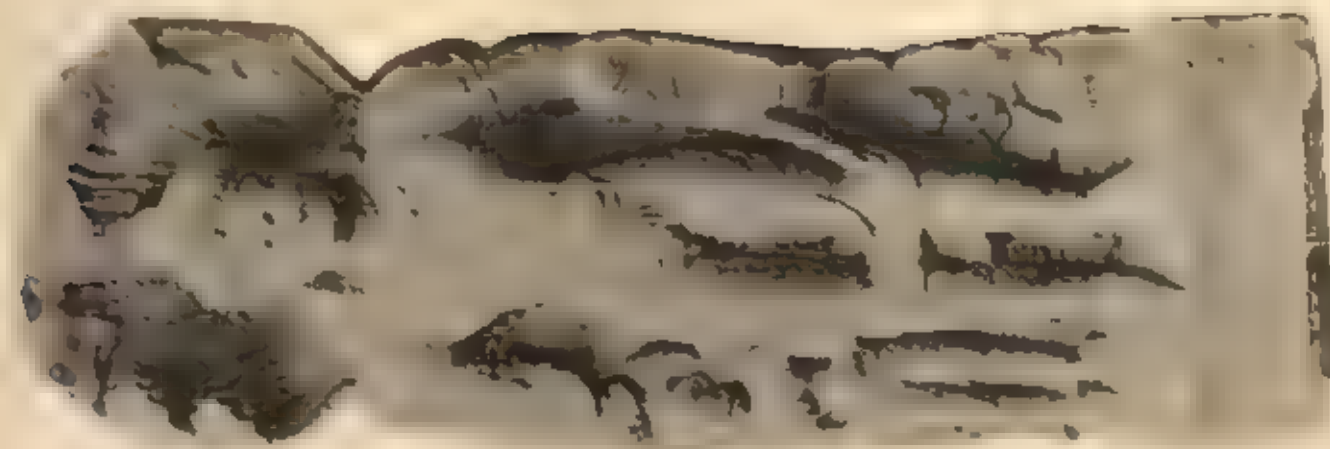
The Naga images which I have been noticed appear all to belong to the Kushana period, when evidently the cult of the Nāgas flourished in the Mathura district side by side with Buddhism and Jainism. A relic of Naga worship of a somewhat later date is a fragment in the Mathurā Museum (No. C 16, height 1' 5") which consists of the lower portion of a coiled-up snake carved in the round. The missing upper portion may have been a human last provided with a snake-head. The front face of the roughly crossed base contains a Sanskrit inscription in two lines which I read

Śr[ī] Aśvadevaḥ Bharaṇa-Tripuravara-puttraya

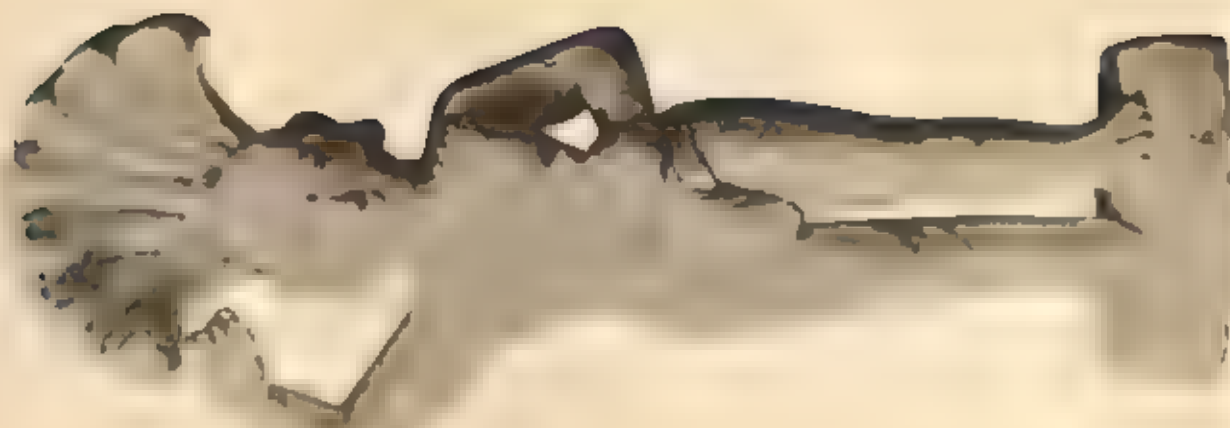
"[The gift] of Śrī Aśvadeva, the son of Bharaṇa the Tripuravara."

The character of this inscription shows a transition between Kushana Brahmins and Gupta, so that the sculpture may be ascribed to the 3rd century of our era. Pandit Ballia Krishna obtained it from a place on the circumambulation road between the villages of Maholi and Usphahar, 3 and 5 miles respectively south-west of the city. The owner had made a mud figure on the top of the sculpture which he explained to the pilgrims as an effigy of Krishna subduing the Kaliya Nag.

\* Cf. *Śrībhagavāṇīya* ch. 1. *Nāga* in *Baladeva mahābalak Mahāhāt* 1. 279. quoted B. R.



MUSEUM MONUM. ET SCULPT. VIND. P.  
N. A. V. A. N. L. U. K. N. V. M. U. S. E. U. M.



(6) MODERN STATUETTE OF MALADEVA.









Finally I must notice a small inscribed Nāga statue in the Lucknow Museum (No. B 934, height 1' 7") which must belong to the Gupta period (Plate LV *a* and LVI *b*). The two arms are broken, but their position may have been similar to that of the inscribed statuette of the year 52 in the Mathurā Museum. The figure has the usual seven-headed hood, and long locks falling down on the shoulders, and wears a necklace and armlets, a *dhoti* and a shawl thrown over the left arm. On his right side stands a Nāgī, about half his size, distinguished by a hood apparently of three snake-heads. She seems to hold some flowers in her left hand, the right arm being stretched down along the body. On the other side of the main figure we notice two kneeling figures, male and female, with hands joined in anoratioṇ. These perhaps represent the donors of the sculpture.

On the base is an inscription (Plate LV *b*) in Gupta character which I read :-  
*Om Viṣṇu-śyaḥ Gōmendra-puṭṭrasyaḥ Hastadatta-puṭṭrasyaḥ kṛttrah* "The glorious gift of Viṣṇu, the son of Gōmendra, the grandson of Hastadatta."

Unfortunately the provenance of this image is unknown. It is placed among the Buddhist sculptures of the Lucknow Museum, which nearly all originate from Mathurā, so that there is some reason to suppose that it also came from that place. Most of these sculptures were found in the excavations of the Jamalpur period. May we assume that this image is a later effigy of that same Nāga Lord, Daṇḍakarna, who was once worshipped on that spot?

J. PH. VOUEL.

In the script on the base it is seen to separate the words. The second syllable *śya* is explained by a symbol. The last word *kṛttrah* probably stands for *kṛtī*.

## THE SECOND VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY; ITS VICEROYS AND MINISTERS.

IT has been shown in the last part of this article that the Saluva usurpation, which put an end to the Sangama (or, as the First dynasty of the Vijayanagara kings), took place probably about Śaka 1408 (= A.D. 1486-87), and that Narasiṅga, the usurper, who yet serving as a viceroy under the last sovereigns Mallikarjuna, Virupakṣa and Pradibodhavarāva (Padma Rao) of that line, was gradually extending his sway over the empire which he eventually usurped.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, Narasiṅga was a powerful chief who must have baffled all attempts of the enemies of Vijayanagara—particularly those of the Bahman kings—to crush its extensive domain. His name was apparently better known to the enemy than those of the weak sovereigns whom he nominally served. It was perhaps in consequence of this that the Kannara kingdom came to be known in his time and also subsequently, to foreign travellers as the kingdom of “Narasīṅga.”

Of Narasiṅga's reign Naniḥ does not say much except that he ruled for 44 years and “left all the kingdom in peace.” Epigraphical records discovered, so far, and dated prior to his usurpation do not disclose any of the political events which must necessarily have contributed to his rise in power, but only make mention of the usual gifts or charitable institutions bestowed by him on the temples at Tirumala<sup>2</sup> and other places, and of the improvements made in the temple of Tiruvijākaṁnātha (i.e. the modern Tiruvikrama-Peroṁdūr) at Tirukoṭur<sup>3</sup> in the South Arcot district. The *Oḍḍigukalapa*, or the *śivasor* by the Gahyā (i.e. the Gaṇapati king), however, which is referred to in two records from Jambai and Tirukoṭur<sup>4</sup> as having happened during the reign of Maṭṭakāpota, shows that the Saluva general Narasiṅga who was

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., 1907-8, p. 253 f.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 260 and 262 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

<sup>3</sup> No. 1 of the same collection for 1904. The work was actually carried out by Annamataṅga who figures also as the signatory in a Kanarese record, dated in Śaka 1302, at Māṭṭakāpota (No. 22 of 1904).

<sup>4</sup> No. 93 of the collection for 1905 and No. 1 of 1905.



powerful at the time, must have taken a prominent part already, in the defeat Madikārpura is stated to have inflicted on the allied armies of the Gajapati king and the Sultan of the South. What substantial aid Narasinga received from his feudatories in this contest of the Odhaya cannot be gathered from inscriptions. In a record at Trakkachalur, dated in Śaka 1406, mention is, however, made of a certain Nāgama-Nāyaka who is called "the foremost of the servants of Narasinga-rāya." It is not unlikely that this Nāgama-Nāyaka is the father of Viśva-nātha who founded the Nāyaka family of Madurai and was perhaps one of the powerful feudatories of Narasinga. Chitta-Chinganna, the great grandfather's brother of Nāḍanḍa Appa—a contemporary of Krishnarāya—is stated in the Telugu poem *Rajasekhara-charitraṃ* of Maḍayyaḡāri Mallanna, to have been a general of Saṃva Narasimha (i.e. the usurper Narasinga). Aravira Bukka of the Karnāṭa family, of whom it is stated that he "firmly established over the kingdom of Saḥaya-Narasimha," may have also been a military officer of Narasinga. Inscriptions subsequent to the date of the usurpation (i.e. Śaka 1408), when can be assigned to the reign of Narasinga are very few. Telugu literature, however, supplies some interesting facts about Narasinga's reign. The *Jatanaḍa-Bhāratam* of Pillalamaru<sup>1</sup> Pēṭa-Viṭṭala and the *Vaṇḍaparāṇamu* of the joint authors Nannā-Maḍayya and Chinnāṭa-Saṅgayya are respectively dedicated to the Saḥaya usurper Narasinga and to his Triṇava general Narasama-Nāyaka, father of Krishnarāya. The latter of the two poems specially states that Narasinga had on his service, one after the other, the two Telugu generals Iṣvara and his son Narasanna (Narasama-Nāyaka). The conquests of Narasinga and his generals which are narrated in these poems have been critically examined by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu in his article on the Devanagari plates of Iṣvara-Narasimha.<sup>2</sup> They confirm the statements of Nuz and the Muhammadan historians, that Narasinga was constantly at war with the Mussalmans and saved the Vijayanagara kingdom from becoming an easy prey to them at a time when the weakness of its last emperors Madikārpura, Virupakṣa and his successors, afforded a favourable opportunity for the enemies to erode its power and annex it to their dominions.

Neither the Telugu poems nor epigraphical records tell us who the Saḥaya were from whom Narasinga and his ancestors traced their descent, what relation, if any, existed between them and the kings of the First dynasty of Saṃgama, and what again the connection was between the usurper Narasinga and his generals Iṣvara and Narasimha (Narasama-Nāyaka), who, though calling themselves members of a branch of the Yadava dynasty which ruled over the Telugu country (*Telurendra*,

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., 1907-8, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> No. 918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900. It is perhaps this same Nāgama-Nāyaka that is mentioned as the author of the Virūḍuparāṇa inscriptions No. 117 on p. 132 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. D.

<sup>3</sup> Rao Bahadur Virūḍalobham Pantulu's "*Lines of Telugu Poets*," p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Telugu scholars may be interested to learn that Pillalamaru is so named in the family name of a certain Rāmārṇava whose son Chinnāṭayya wrote the composition the record of Jāṇa-Śrīgamaṇḍana's feudatory chief at Kṛṣṇarāya, in Śaka 1446 (No. 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903).

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., p. 74f.



the upkeep of that temple 60,000 *madan* and (4) that he killed the Sultan of Malhura giving wide renown to the title *para-pakshi-saluka* i.e. a hawk (*saluka* to the birds — the host of kings).<sup>1</sup> Of these titles of Saluva-Mangu, some at least were appropriated in later times by other members of the Saluva family whose rule in different parts of the Vijayanagara empire — sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as semi-independent chiefs, is evidenced by the existence of stray epigraphical records. In the first part of this article, Saluva Tippuraja-Odeya, the brother-in-law of King Devaraya II and his son Gopparaja were mentioned to have served as Vijayanagara viceroys. They were ruling the country about Tēkal in the Mysore State and the North Arcot district, shortly after the period to which Saluva-Mangu belonged. Tippuraja in the Tēkal records receives the titles 'the setter up of Saubariya', etc., which Saluva-Mangu obtains in the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*. Another Saluva chief that claimed similar titles was Saluva Saṅgaṇadēva-Mahārāja, who was ruling somewhere in the south probably as a contemporary of Narasimha and a subordinate of Pratāpādēva-Mahārāja (Palesa R.). This Saṅgaṇadēva (Śaka 1403) is stated in two records from Andol (Trichimpoly district) to have been 'the establisher of Śāntapurāya (Sāmparāya)', 'a hawk to kings, etc. (enemy) kings,' 'the conqueror of the Sultan of the South,' etc. Other Saluva chiefs whose names are found in inscriptions, but whose relation to the main branch to which Narasimha belonged has not yet been made out clearly, are — (1) Sāṅga Parvatarāja son of Saṅgaṇadēva who in Śaka 1387 (= A.D. 1465) built a *mandapa* in the temple on the hill at Tirupatī, (2) Sāṅga Śrīraṅgāyadēva-Mahārāja, son of Mahagaṅga-yadēva-Mahārāja who in Śaka 1372 (= A.D. 1450) made a gift of 1,200 *panam* to the same temple, (3) Saṅga Eṇa-Kaṁpavādēva-Mahārāja who in Śaka 1368 (= A.D. 1446) made a similar gift,<sup>2</sup> (4) Sāṅga Gōpa-Panamarpaṭi Saṅga Tirumahādēva-Mahārāja (Śaka 1385)<sup>3</sup> and Saṅga Gōpa-Tippuraja Tripurantaka (Śaka 1390)<sup>4</sup> of whom the former is known to have made rich gifts of jewels and villages to the temples at Śrīraṅgam and Jambukeśvaram near Trichimpoly and the latter, to have set up a flag staff at Bāṁśavaram gilt with gold, and (5) Tinnaraṅga or Śīra-Tinnararāja, a son perhaps of the Saluva Śīraṅgāyadēva, who made a grant to the temple on Tirumala in Śaka 1403 (= A.D. 1481).<sup>5</sup> The epithets applied to Telugurāja in a record from the Bāpatla taluka, make it appear that he and his father Saṅgarāja of Kanada-deśa (i.e. the Kanyāka country) were also of Saṅga descent.<sup>6</sup> A genealogical table of that branch of the Saluvas with which Narasimha was directly connected as derived from the Devulapalli plates, the Telugu poems *Jaimini-*

<sup>1</sup> This may be a reference to the reconsecration of Ranganātha at Śrīraṅgam mentioned in a record of Gopparāja (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, pp. 22-6) who, like Saluva-Mangu, was also a general of Katappa II. Perhaps the credit of setting up Ranganātha was shared by the general's second son — Kanyāka himself.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 593 and 594 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

<sup>3</sup> No. 261 of the same collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 262 ditto.

<sup>5</sup> No. 264 ditto.

<sup>6</sup> No. 59 of the collection for 1892 and No. 67 of 1903.

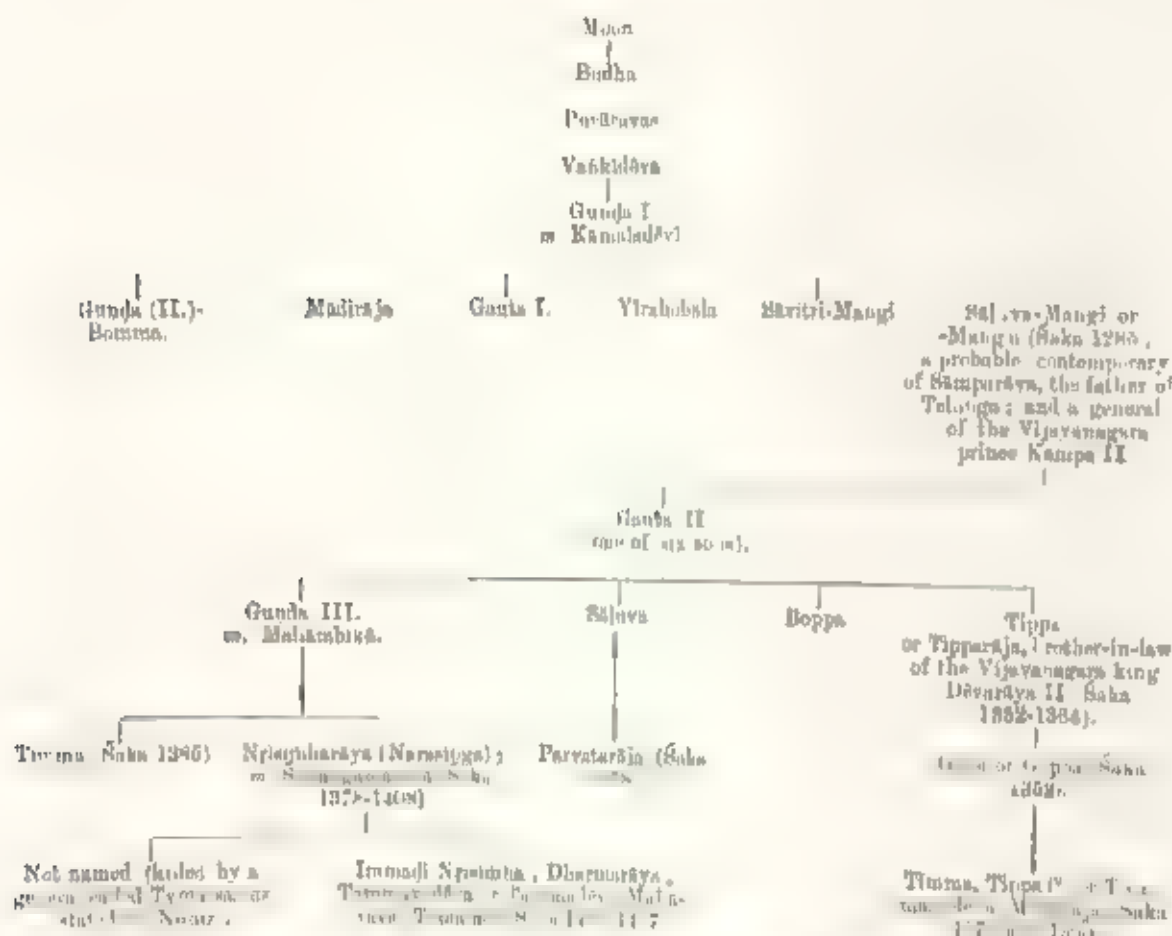
<sup>7</sup> No. 89 of the collection for 1895 and No. 56 of 1897.

<sup>8</sup> No. 57 of the collection for 1899 and No. 257 of 1904.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 84. A Simhācalaṁ record mentions this same Telugurāja, son of Saṅgarāja from Kanada country (No. 234 of 1893) and the Telugu poet Śaṅkara appears to look back to him in the phrase "Sāmparāyaṁ-Telugūḥ."

*Bharatam* and the *Varahapurāṇam* and Tamil inscriptions, is appended for reference :—

### Pedigree of the Śāluvas.



It has been stated by Nuz that the usurper Narasiṅga, on leaving the kingdom which he had acquired at the point of his sword, left the charge of his trusted general Narasimha (generally known as Narasimha Nayaka, Narasimha Nayaka or Narasimha) to be made over to his infant son after they came of age. According to the same chronicler the first of the two sons was murdered at the instance of a certain Tirmaraka who in his turn was killed by Narasimha Nayaka. The second prince Tamaraka was raised to the throne by the faithful minister, but kept under strict control in the fortress at Penugonda on account of his tender age. About Saka 1424 Tamaraka appears to have been deprived of even this nominal power either by Narasimha Nayaka himself or by his son Viri-Narasimha, who must have succeeded to the throne in that year.<sup>2</sup> The statement, however, of the Muhammadan historians and of Nuz that Narasimha

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of this Tirmaraka with a certain Tirmaraka, son of Tirmaraka of the Hemavadda-Maharaja see *Account Report on Epigraphy for 1903-4* p. 157—paragraph 69.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 171.



kabel both the sons of Narsimha before he usurped the throne for himself, is rendered unlikely by the Devulapalli plates, which are dated in Śaka 1427 and record a gift of Immadi-Nrsimha probably subsequent to his deposition. The name Tannano, is evidently a corruption of Tannamayadēva-Mahārāya or Dharmarāya which occurs in inscriptions as a surname of Immadi-Nrsimha. In the records of Immadi-Nrsimha the place of honour is generally given to Narsimha-Nayaka who is invariably referred to, either as a generalissimo in charge of the whole army of the Vijayanagara kingdom, or as an Agent managing the State Affairs for Immadi-Nrsimha from the capital Vijayanagara. Records of the latter are found scattered over the Cudappah, Anantapur, South Arcot, Tanjavur, and Madurai Districts of the Madras Presidency and the Mysore State. The orders of 'Lord' Narsimha-Nayaka, the province of Barakūr was at this time governed by Śādhāranaśū[va\*]-Qaeya,\* Nuguru-rāja which included within it Havāra and Kōṭṭāra, was in charge of the *malikamuttal* *śāstra* Śāstra Devaṇya-Voḍeya, who in Śaka 1422 made a grant, for his own merit, to the temple of Olivesvaram in the temple town of the North Arcot District. In Śaka 1424 made a grant to the same temple for the "longevity, health, wealth and golden victory" of *Mettummanu Gaudokatta* i. *Prattapaśūtra* Narsimha-Nayaka, son of Yastappa-Nayaka i. *Iyāra*. Mukta-pāṭi, which forms, perhaps a part of the modern Cuddalore District, was conferred as a *rajya* on Bakkasur. Immadi-yasugera who, in his turn, appears to have appointed his brother-in-law Sankayya as the governor of this District. Bakkasur Immadi-yasugera's seat of authority elsewhere in epigraphical records. I would provisionally identify him with the general "Tannapan-rāja" to whom, according to Narayana-Narasimha-Nayaka "much confidence" Agent Sannappa-Nayaka Devaṇya or Devaṇya son of Sannappa-Nayaka is mentioned in a record from Nandur in the Cuddalore District to have been governing from a secluded place, the province of Pattapiseṭṭi, which included in it "the districts of Sāyēl, Sidiyavattin, etc." as chief executive officer

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909-10*, p. 216.

No. 616 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907. Two other inscriptions were found at this place in important personages in this reign were, a certain Ayyaṅṅa Sōmayya Viramavarman, 'Lord of the Mountain Country' (No. 804 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) and a certain Tipparasār Ayyaṅṅa for whose gift were made by the chief Eppala-Nayaka, at Pūṣṇamāl in the Maṇṇara District, in the Śaka year 1422 (= A.D. 1600-1) (Nos. 139 and 151 of 1903). From a record at Magge in the Heggadādēvanakote tāṭaka of the Mysore District (*Ep. Carn. Vol. IV, Pg. 74*) we learn that in Śaka 1410, a certain Tipparasā Ayyaṅṅavaru was holding the office of 'Chief Minister of the household (*maneraya-pradādānta*) under Śaṭva-Narasimharāja. There can be little doubt about the identity of the two inscriptions—Tipparasā—mentioned in the Pūṣṇamāl or Magge records; but it is not certain exactly what position Tipparasā held in the Government of the Vijayanagara Kingdom. The wording of the Magge record suggests that he was the Governor of that part of the Mysore country which was then subject to Vijayanagara. Tipparasā-Uḍaiyav, perhaps identical with Tipparasār-Ayyaṅṅa is also mentioned in the Buddhadr̥ghapūṭi inscription of Tannayadeva (Tannuwa) (No. 155 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903). One of the epigraphs in the Mārgaṇahāyēvata temple at Virūṇhipuram mentions a certain Peliya-Tioma arāja-Tanay who may have also been a chief subordinate of Immadi-Narasimharāja. Virūṇakhoḍḍa-Aṅṅagala, like Tipparasā Ayyaṅṅavaru, is stated in No. 59 of *Ep. Carn. Vol. IV*, to have been a chief subordinate of Śaṭva-Narasimharāja (father of Immadi-Narasimha), in Śaka 1407.

<sup>1</sup> No. 166 of the Madras Epigraphica collection for 1891.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Appendix A, No 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* No. 32.

\* No. 516 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. It may incidentally be observed that these tolls as specified for the town of Multukuru, included fees on marriages, carts, horses, maid-servants and professions.

<sup>7</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 213.



being his own son, Pavata-Nāyudu. Maduru-mandalam, i.e. the country around Madura, appears also at this time, as a province of the Vijayanagara kingdom governed by a chief who was under the direct orders of Narasana-Nayaka. Thus from the large area over which the Srivaya king Immadi-Nr-simha is represented to have ruled either actually or nominally under the direction of his able general and minister Narasana-Nayaka, the inference is clear that during the short interval of Saluva usurpation the Vijayanagara supremacy did not suffer in dominion but extended over a very large portion of Southern India.

What has been reported of Immadi-Nr-simha in the foregoing paragraph applies equally to his general Narasana-Nayaka who actually conducted the affairs of State in the name of Immadi-Nr-simha. In the numerous copper-plates and other records of Narasana-Nayaka's successors, who are distinguished in history as kings of the Second or Third Dynasty, a regular account is given of the mythical and historical ancestry of these kings, and numerous interesting details are registered of the general Narasana. It is stated that Immadi-Nr-simha, the chief of Tulava, born of the race of Yayu, was Immadi. His son was Isvara whose fame for heroism was known from the Rameswaram to the Huchchida from the eastern to the western sea. From Isvara was born Narasana who quickly bridged the Kāvēr, though it consisted of a rapid current of capacious water, crossed over it, straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy brought Tanjore and (the city of) Srirangapatnam under his power and set up a pillar of fame.—His heroic deeds being praised in the three works (*which appeared to be the palace (of his glory)*). It is also said of Immadi-Nr-simha that he conquered the Chēra, Chōra, Manabhisala the lord of Madhura, the brave Parashuka, the Gajapati and other kings.

Narasana-Nayaka made gifts also at Rameswaram and every other shrine on earth which abounds in sacredness. Professor Hultzsch, from whose translation of the Hampi inscription I have extracted the above, is of opinion that the verses which record this boasted prowess of Narasana are only repetitions from an "office copy." Consequently it appears doubtful how far this eulogy of Narasana could be trusted for the purposes of history. But from what has been stated above it is clear that Maduru-mandalam—the Pavata country proper—was actually a Vijayanagara province at the time of which we are now speaking, and that Immadi-Nr-simha's inscriptions in different districts of Southern India, clearly prove that he and his Tulava regard Narasana as sway over almost the whole of the Chōra country. Nor can the fight of Narasana with the Gajapati and the Turushka

<sup>1</sup> No. 615 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907; it may be noted that in this record the chief Provincial is called "the establisher of Tondra-mandalam."

<sup>2</sup> No. 30 of the collection for 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 307, verse 10. *Immadi-Nr-simha*—*Immadi-Nr-simha*—*Immadi-Nr-simha*. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 151 ad.

<sup>4</sup> Māmakavacha was the surname of a Pandya king, Anantavarman Pandya who ruled from A.D. 1493 to 1464. It is consequently doubtful if Māmakavacha of the Vijayanagara copper plates is a reference to him. Māmakavacha is also mentioned in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX. Probably he is identical with Māmakavacha—Māmakavacha who was an earlier member of the family to which Māmakavacha belonged. Māmakavacha is frequently also mentioned as a member of the Chōra dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 307, verse 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 302. It is evident that in this description of Sangama, where the "office copy" of the verses in question is supposed to occur, the eulogy is misapplied, for, we know that Sangama did not rule actually.

kings be disbelieved, since the Sarava usurper Narasimha, of whom Narasa was a general, must certainly have fought with the Chōdiya and the Muhammadan before establishing himself on the Vijayanagara throne. The Telugu poet *Purṇat-apaharanagunn* speaks of him as having captured Vayalpara (perhaps Bijaṇṇa) from the king of the Kuntala country, deprived the Muhammadan lord of his great prize by taking from him the fortress of Māyavallur<sup>1</sup>, when the Chōdi seized Madharapura, fought a battle at Sringagapatthana and established his authority bestowing gifts at Hampi etc. (i.e. Rāṇṇavara). Besides, Narasa's father Isvara is described in the *Leeloharanagunn* as having conquered the forts of Udayavijaya, Huttara, Gandikota, Penugutla, Beggidala, Kovvur, Kuvila, Gadag, Chitla, Bannur, Nagonda, Anur and Sringagapatthana and to have destroyed the camp of the Yavanas of Beṇṇankota at Guntakota<sup>2</sup>. This description, which mentions the names of places actually captured, is probably not untrue. As it is not unlikely that Narasa may have also taken part in these conquests by the side of his father Isvara and his master Sarava Narasimha, consequently it may safely be accepted, that Narasa-Navaka though he did not formally occupy the throne of Vijayanagara was nevertheless the *de facto* ruler of almost the whole of Southern Canara. Viniz also confirms the eulogy found in copper plates when he states that Narasa-Navaka "made war on several places, taking them and establishing them because they had revolted."<sup>3</sup>

Narasa, according to Viniz, left five sons, but inscriptions mention only four, viz. Vira-Narasimha, Krishnaraya, Ranga and Añyutaraya. The eldest of these Vira-Narasimha, who corresponds to 'Bishalnai' of Nutt, reigned for 6 years and was succeeded by his only brother Krishnaraya. As Krishnaraya's accession to the throne will be shown in the sequel, to have happened about the end of Śaka 1431, his brother Vira-Narasimha, who ruled 6 years before him, must have ascended the throne in or about Śaka 1424. In the copper plate grant from Bhareśvara noted already, Saṅkya Narasimha (i.e. Narasa-Navaka) son of Visarappa (Isvara), is referred to as still living in Śaka 1424, Daravati, the month Bhādrapada, whereas in a record from Barakuru, dated in the same Śaka year Daravati, *but* in the month Māgha, we are informed that Vira Narasimharaya was ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara. Consequently, we have perhaps to infer that Narasa died in the latter part of Śaka 1424 and left his son Vira-Narasimha to succeed to the throne. Mr Sewell records a few inscriptions of Vira-Narasimharaya from the Cuadupah

<sup>1</sup> Rao Bahadur Vīraśaṅgam Pantulu's "*Leelavata Telugu Poets*" (Chintamani Press Edition of 1899), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> The taking of Māyavallur by Narasa is also mentioned in the poem *Arjunatarangībhāṣyaṅgam* (I. 29). Instead of the name of the *Pratāpa* mentioned it mentions the Maravikṛṇḍa and says that he was a new fact and the capture of a chief called Kuntala.

<sup>3</sup> Sringagapatthana the fort of Anur-Rāṇṇavara, i.e. Vijaya, is also mentioned in the inscription as stated to have been Narasimharaya (Narasimha-Navaka) in his conflicts against the Muhammadans, see below, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 2, Table.

<sup>8</sup> An inscription from Honakanahalli in the Gadag district taluka, (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Ga. 67), dated in Śaka 1426, calls the king Bhūjaṇṇa Pratāpa-Narasimharaya. The latter epithet alone may have been transcribed by the Portuguese chronicler as 'Rasbal'; see also *ibid.* Vol. III, Ml. 95, dated in Śaka 1423.

<sup>9</sup> No. 152 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

and Karnool districts, which are dated between the years Śaka 1424 and 1429. These do not speak of the regent Narasimha Nāyaka and cannot, therefore, be mistaken for those of the Saluva king Immadi-Nrisimha, though in Śaka 1427 (the date of the Devrapalli plates) we find Immadi-Nrisimha still living and making a grant of a village in the Penugonda-rāja. Further epigraphical researches alone must show the exact political relationship that existed between the ruling king Vira-Narasimharāja of the Tāyapa dynasty and the deposed Saluva prince Immadi-Nrisimha.

We have not on record many inscriptions of Vira-Narasimharāja. Those mentioned by Mr. Sewell have not yet been critically examined. Three records from Barakuru (South Canara), Tādpatā (Anantapur) and Jambū (South Arcot) mention a few of Vira-Narasimha's subordinates. These were Basavarasa-Odeya, ruling the Barakuru-rāja, the *mahāmudralesvara* Rāmāyasa-Maharāja, one of the Udaya-Chakras of the Solar race and Saluva-Timmarasa, the *mahapradhana* of the king. At Ramesvaram near Proddur (Cuddapah) is a record dated in Śaka 1439 (Vikrama), which does not refer to any ruling king, but mentions gifts made to the temple of Rāmayadevi by Saluva-Govindarāja, son of Ruchiraja of the Kāṇḍiyya-gotra, Āpastambā-gotra and the Yagun-śākha, for the merit of Vira-Narasimharāja and Saluva-Timmarasa. On Friday the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1431, Śaka, Vira-Narasimharāja was still ruling at Vijayanagara, when his *mahapradhana* Saluva-Timmarasāyasa made a grant of a village in Gut-t-rāja to the temple of Ramesvaram (Tādpatā). This Saluva-Timmarasa, of whom more will be said in the sequel, is the famous minister the playlets pronounced a paragon state politics during the reigns of Vira-Narasimharāja and his successor, the great Krishnarāja. Saluva-Timma's parentage, as given in the Kon-Jyoda inscription, shows that Saluva-Govindarāja of the Ramesvaram and Mopur records must have been identical with the Govindapur (Govindap) mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Saluva-Timma and holding an important executive function in one of the provinces of the Vijayanagara empire.

Before going into the reign of Krishnarāja it may be useful to see what copper plates and Nuniz have to say about Vira-Narasimha. The former praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts at various sacred places such as Ramesvaram, Śrīraṅgam, Kumbhakōṇam, Chudambaram, Śopāsaila (Tiruvannamalai), Kāñchi, Kañahasti, Śrīśaila, Akshata, Mahānand, Nivṛitti, Harihara and Gokarna.<sup>1</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> No. 153 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

<sup>3</sup> No. 313 of the collection for 1892.

<sup>4</sup> No. 24 of 1896.

<sup>5</sup> No. 389 of 1904.

<sup>6</sup> No. 34 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1892 states that the same Saluva-Govindarājaya made a grant of a village in Gut-t-rāja in Śaka 1435.

<sup>7</sup> A damaged epigraph from Mopur in the Cuddapah district (No. 504 of 1900) also records a grant for the merit of Vira-Narasimharāja and Saluva-Timmarasa.

<sup>8</sup> No. 313 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 224, verse 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 350, and p. 362, note L.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 308, verses 16 and 17.

Narayana says that during the 16 years of his rule Bushadrao was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead the whole land revolted under its captives, and a feud about the time of his death in order to secure the throne for his own son, he issued the cruel order that the eyes of his step-brother Krishnaraya should be put out. Whatever the estimate of Narayana may be of Viru-Narasimha's character he seems to be certainly right when he says that the whole land revolted on Narasimha's death. In an inscription from the Kolar district Mysore, we are told of an expedition carried into the Tulu-rya by Bhatkala Maharaya *i.e.* Bushadrao in order perhaps to quell the rebellious feudatories of that province one of whom, at least, the Kanasa-Karkana chief Yamaradi-Bhaurarasa-Charya is stated in the record to have been quite anxious about the continuance of his petty estate. The Mussalman Governor at Goa, according to the Italian traveller Varthema, was at war with Narasimha of Vijayanagara, about the year A. D. 1506.<sup>1</sup> The Ummattur chiefs of the eastern part of the Mysore country must also have grown powerful if they had not actually revolted, and must have held permanent rule *(ekha-erappa)* at Terkananda (Chandrapet taluka) and the surrounding country.<sup>2</sup> Other petty chieftains of Mysore also cannot have kept the peace, else, as we shall see in the sequel there would have been no necessity for Krishnaraya to have gone on a victorious tour immediately after his coronation to put down these petty rulers. For the same reason, too, we may not be far wrong if we infer that the Tuluquah king had carried his influence far into the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom and had held the fortresses of Kundavaru and Udayavari which were situated in the Kanara country.<sup>3</sup> The Madhavanadan kings of Bijapur also could not but have found the Tuluva usurpation by Narasimha-Nayaka, or rather, by his son Viru-Narasimharaya a favourable opportunity to pounce once again on their natural enemies, the Hindū kings of Vijayanagara.

At this stage of history, despite the intrigues and jealousies that placed obstacles in the way of his succeeding to the throne Krishnaraya, the second son of Narasimha-Nayaka and the last great Hindu sovereign of Southern India, prior to

<sup>1</sup> *For the Empire* p. 314. Tradition on the Tuluva dynasty attributes the part played by him in the overthrow of Tipu Sultan to the father of Viru-Narasimha, for it is said that Narasimha's grandfather was a man of high caste but, nevertheless, considered as being of a lower rank than the Nayakas of the Vijayanagara Empire.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraph. Ind. VI*, No. 1, p. 1. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Sewell for correcting an error in the preceding *Ep. Ind. VI*, p. 74 of the preceding inscription. Certainly the campaign of Bhatkala against the Tulu country was a part even at the time of the record and Yamaradi-Bhaurarasa-Charya's great power at the time of his death must have been a fact at that time. It cannot be said, as Mr. Sewell would take it, that the campaign by Bhatkala is a reference to Krishnaraya's conquest of the Tulu country.

<sup>3</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 118.

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. VII, p. 117, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. VII, p. 114. The *Annals of the Vijayanagara Empire* refers to a campaign of the Tuluva emperor Narasimha-Nayaka against the Tuluva chief of the Tulu country, and to the successful campaign of his son Viru-Narasimha against Ummattur. An inscription from the Madhavanadan king of Bijapur (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 15) states that the Ummattur chief Yamaradi-Bhaurarasa-Charya was a powerful feudatory of the Vijayanagara Empire. The term *ekha-erappa* is used for the first time in the inscription of Viru-Narasimha (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 15), the date of which is 1498. The term *ekha-erappa* is used for the first time in the inscription of Viru-Narasimha (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 15), the date of which is 1498. The term *ekha-erappa* is used for the first time in the inscription of Viru-Narasimha (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 15), the date of which is 1498. The term *ekha-erappa* is used for the first time in the inscription of Viru-Narasimha (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 15), the date of which is 1498.

<sup>4</sup> In Śaka 1426 the *śaṅkha-mandala-śrāva* Govinda-Odayara, styled himself 'the conqueror of the three kings,' 'the rescuer of Nilagiri,' and was holding Madhavakōṭa (Ep. Carn., Vol. III, No. 47).

<sup>5</sup> No. 265 of the Mysore Epigraphical Collection for 1907 says that Udayavari was in the centre of *Andra-giri-kāṭaka*.



the occupation by the British, was crowned to rule the Vijayanagara empire, solely through the exertions of his able family minister Śaṭṭaya-Timmarasa, on or about the 14th day of his bright fortnight of Magha in the cyclical year Śukla which corresponded to Śaka 1431 (= A.D. 1509-10). According to Telugu tradition Krishnarāya is stated to have been born on Friday the 12th of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclical year Vikrānti which corresponded to Śaka 1387.<sup>1</sup> This would make him about 45 years old when he was crowned, which is very unlikely. According to more reliable accounts Krishnarāya was nearer that age when he died.<sup>2</sup> There is still another tradition which says that he was born in Śaka 1409 (= A.D. 1487).<sup>3</sup> This latter appears to be nearer the truth as it agrees with the statement of Nanz that the king was over twenty years when he succeeded to the Vijayanagara throne.

Epigraphical materials for re-constructing the history of Krishnarāya's reign are abundant. Hundreds of copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his time are found all over the Presidency. Mr. Sewis's exhaustive account based on the chronicles of the Portuguese travellers, Paes and Nanz, the Muhammadan historians and other European tourists and on the inscriptions examined by him in the course of his preparation of Vols. I and II of the *Index of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, is, of all treatises, by far the most valuable and interesting. It throws direct light upon the religious, social and political features of Krishnarāya's rule which are of the highest value for a clear understanding of the times. It has "Lives of Telugu Poets" (written in Telugu) Rāo Bānadar Vāreśāhagan Pantulu has dwelt at great length on the progress of Telugu literature under the patronage of that brilliant sovereign who was himself a poet and an author. Besides these, we have the quasi-historical work of the Telugu poet Venkataraya alias Kārttikeya-Dhārpati, which is exclusively devoted to Krishnarāya's victorious times and is hence entitled *Krishnaraya-vijayam*. As the reign of Krishnarāya is an important epoch in South-Indian literature, arts and culture, its religious and political and social and economic progress, I plant no apology for putting together the information which I have been able to gather from available inscriptions of Krishnarāya's brilliant rule and conquests.

As already stated, Krishnarāya succeeded to the throne about the end of Śaka 1431. This is recorded in an inscription from Hampi, which also supplies the information that on the occasion of his coronation, Krishnarāya "built in front of the shrine of Virupaksha a large assembly hall (*raaga-mandapa*) and a *gopura* before it, caused to be repaired the great *gopura* in front of that, and gave to the holy Virupaksha *śrī* a golden lotus, set with the nine (*kinda*) of gems and a snake

<sup>1</sup> This is the date of the coronation (*prabhishikāṇa*) as given in the Hampi inscription (*Ep. Ind. Vol. VI*, p. 37). It will, however, now be a certainly impossible date as it is nearly

<sup>2</sup> *Index of Telugu Poets*, Vol. I. According to the *Index of Telugu Poets*, his reign was 21 years, 6 months and 15 days, which would be Śaka 1393, approx.

<sup>3</sup> *Forgotten Kingdom*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Part IV of Anujāda Śrīrāmanandī Pantulu's *Kārttikeya-Dhārpati* (Madras Edition of S. S. 1916) contains also an exhaustive Telugu account of Krishnarāya's reign based on Telugu sources, the Tamil chronicle *Kāṇḍiāṭṭarāyakkal* and Mr. Sewis's *Index of Antiquaries*. We think it is a fair assumption that the *Madras Presidency* (1909), a book entitled *Archaeological Remains in the Madras Presidency*, contains information collected from the reports of European travellers and Muhammadan historians.



ornament." The eulogy of Krishnaraya which is registered in this inscription shows that the record must have been actually drawn up some years after the coronation, by which time, at least, as will be seen in the sequel, he had conquered the Gajapati king, had extended his dominions to the temples of Venkateswari Tirumala, Śrīraṅgeśwari (Tirumalaiah), Kaṅkaśabha (Channarayana) and others, and had earned the title of a second Bhogī. Evidently after having composed, perhaps, the Telugu poem *Amṛtamaṇi*, etc. Professor Hultzsch, who has edited the inscription under reference, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, has affixed the date given in the Kanarese portion of the record as the actual date of the coronation or only its anniversary. We have seen above that Krishnaraya's brother Virarajasekhara was still ruling in the month Vaisākh of the Śaka year 1431 Śaka. A record from Polavur (Cuddapah), dated in Śaka 1431 Śaka but in the month Kārtika, states that Krishnaraya was ruling on the throne at Vijayanagara. Consequently the date of the Hampi epigraph, though it may not exactly be the date of the coronation as already suspected by Professor Hultzsch, cannot, in any case, be the anniversary of Krishnaraya's *paṭabhishikā*. It is likely that the king's coronation took place some time between the months of Vaisākha and Kārtika in the cyclic year Śaka corresponding to A.D. 1509-10, and the grants made on that occasion were recorded on the Hampi stone after some interval.\* As soon as it was crowned king Krishnaraya is stated to have "stayed in the City of Basava for a year and a half without going outside of it, leaving the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings." From these he came to understand that the three fortresses of Medigalla (Maddur), Banchola (Banchur) and Odgar (Udayagiri) had remained unconquered by the usurper Narasanga, who, as noted already, had, on the decline of the first dynasty, restored the Vijayanagara kingdom to its original extent and power. Krishnaraya was determined to acquire these unusual fortresses and make the necessary preparations. Meanwhile, nearer home there appeared to have been certain rebellious elements who had to be chastised first. These were the Tummattar chiefs who had grown to be almost independent of Vijayanagara and were, as heirs-presumptive to the *Chikkarayapatta*, holding in their possession a pretty large portion of the kingdom, under the title *Pennugondachakravartī*†. The Amaravati inscription of Krishnaraya is the only record which refers to Krishnaraya's conquest of Śrinivasanandina—a stronghold of the Tummattar chiefs—prior to his capture of Udayagiri. Professor Lüders, who has published this record in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. VII, pp. 17 to 22), quotes confirmatory evidence from the accounts of foreign travellers and Muhammadan historians to prove that the Tummattar chiefs were the first to be reduced by Krishnaraya. The capture of the

\* *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 276.

† L. Virarajasekhara Paṭabhishikā has Krishnaraya over-shaded him. Virarajasekhara was mentioned as a contemporary of the (Āndhra) literature as Bhōja of old did Sanskrit. It is also stated that many Sanskrit works were composed in the king's reign which are no longer extant (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 176).

‡ No. 491 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

\* A similar relation is provided by a record from the temple of Venkateswari at Tirumala. The inscription on 2. 1435, granted in the temple of Venkateswari at Tirumala, which were the first to be executed after the king's coronation.

† *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

‡ Above, p. 173, footnote 4; and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, p. 104-67.



and, as a reward, to have bestowed nine villages free of all taxes, for oblations and offerings to the temple. Numerous other records which relate to Krishnaraya's conquests in general, begin also with his capture of Udayagiri and close the account with his setting up of a pillar of victory at Pottanura near Simhādri (Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district). They mention in connection with the conquest of Udayagiri the capture of a certain Tirumala-Rahutaraya or Tirumata-Rahuttaraya, who must have been one of the nobles of Pratâparudra in charge of that fortress. Mr. Visselingsam Pantulu states that the chief who was in charge of Udayagiri was a certain Prad-râsvara-Patra who was an ally of the Gajapati, prince Virabhadra-Pâta. Nuziz also speaks of the capture of an *asat* (or an *asat*) of Pratâparudra at Udayagiri whose name he does not give. Kanarese and Telugu records on the Udayagiri hill state that Krishnaraya captured at Udayagiri an ally of Pratâparudra Gajapati named Tirumala-Rahavaraya or Tirumala-Rahuttaraya,\* which are probably mistakes for Tirumala-Rahuttaraya. On the occasion of his visit to Udayagiri Krishnaraya with his usual liberality appears to have made many gifts to the temples on that hill.

On a second expedition against the Gajapati, which was apparently undertaken long after the first—perhaps, with the object of not allowing sufficient time to elapse for reviving his forces—a determined attack was made on Konavolu where the Gajapati had apparently taken shelter. The fortress was captured by scaling its walls; and inscriptions say that before leaving to go to Konavolu, Krishnaraya took by a single assault the minor fortresses of Althaki, Yurukolu, Bellamkolu, Nagarankolu, Tungehi, Ketavaram and other strongholds.<sup>†</sup> The *Pattapattapaharanamu*, which also refers to the victories and campaigns of Krishnaraya to the east, mentions how the king attacked Udayagiri, easily captured Vatakonda, dispersed the forces that had collected at Konavolu, surprised Bellamkolu, devastated Velupukonda, razed Jallipalle to the ground, subdued Anantagiri, shook Kambametha by surprise and struck terror into the mind of the king of the Utkalas.<sup>‡</sup> The same poem in another place<sup>§</sup> speaks of a certain Kasavâpata and prince Virabhadra who were taken captives by Krishnaraya during his capture of Konavolu. This last event according to the Konavolu and the Mangalagiri records<sup>||</sup> happened on the 12th day of the bright half of Âshâtha i. e. the Saka year

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 172, (with a note) says that a *Prad-râsvara* captured a certain *Prad-râsvara* who was a *Prad-râsvara*. For Mr. Pantulu's explanation of this name see his note on the *Prad-râsvara* in the *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 172. Mr. Appala Pantulu of Vizagapatam says that the name of the *Prad-râsvara* from which, evidently, the information was extracted, is *Prad-râsvara* was in charge of Konavolu.

<sup>2</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 317 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Andhra Inscriptions*, II. 37.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. No. 272 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

<sup>5</sup> A *Prad-râsvara* is mentioned in the modern records of Nellore and Andhra. While some were in the possession of the original, others appear to have been introduced in the Janta of the Gita Sahas of Guntur (see *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 132 to 138).

<sup>6</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Vatukolu*, *Jallipalle*, *Anantagiri* and *Kambametha* mentioned here, were actually captured by the king in his local campaign (see p. 137 below).

<sup>8</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 230ff and p. 108ff.

1437 (=23rd June A. D. 1515) From the Tiruvannāmalai, Kōṭahastī<sup>2</sup> and the Amaravati<sup>3</sup> inscriptions it may have to be inferred that Kṛṣṇarāya on this occasion captured alive Virabhadrarāya or Virabhadrasēna, the son of Prataparudra, Naraharipatra the son of Kumara Hammira-Manapatra (perhaps also a Gajapati prince), Mallūkhān<sup>4</sup> and Uddandakhān of Racharu Raichur, Rāchirāju of Kasapādu<sup>5</sup> Śrinatharāju and Lakshmapatraya,<sup>6</sup> Kasavapatra of Janyala,<sup>7</sup> Bāhuchandra-Mahapatra of the west and other nobles and feudatory chiefs. Evidently these chiefs and nobles of Prataparudra had collected in the fortress of Kondavidu to defend it against the attack of Kṛṣṇarāya.<sup>8</sup> The presence among them of the two Mahamagan chiefs Mallūkhān and Uddandakhān of Racharu is of special interest as it suggests the intimate terms on which the Gajapati and the Ahir Śākya kings (to whom belonged Raichur) must have then been in their common cause to oppose the victorious Kṛṣṇarāya. Prince Virabhadra who was taken captive on this occasion is stated by Nizām<sup>9</sup> to have been subsequently imprisoned in the city of Vijayanagara and consulted by the king, being asked to show his skill in sword-play with a person who was not of the royal blood. It is even related that the prince after this incident committed suicide. This does not appear to have been the case; for a record from the Davangere tāuka of the Chitaldroog district (*Ep. Car.* Vol. IX. Pg. 107) states that Virabhadra-Maharaya, son of the Gajapati king Prataparudra-Maharaya, was riding under the orders of Kṛṣṇarāya, the district of Madaga Benaresse and retaining, in that capacity, the tax on marriages in Śaka 1438 Yavan (=A. D. 1515-16), for the merit of his father Prataparudra and king Kṛṣṇarāya. This interesting record testifies to the high status and rank of Kṛṣṇarāya who, far from ill-treating a captive prince, raised him to the dignity of a provincial chief which he originally was when he held Kondavidu. In the very same year in which Kōṭavidu was taken the king with his two wives Chinnādevi-Amra and Tirumala devi-Amra who appear to have accompanied him in his military campaigns, visited the temple of Amarasvara near Dharmakota (the historic Dharmakota and bestowed there the mandirant gitts known as *talapuranaha*, *ratnadhean* and *suplakavara* and presented some villages.<sup>10</sup> After settling the defence and government of Kondavidu Kṛṣṇarāya returns to Vijayanagara and left it again on his third expedition this time directing it against Kōṭaga. He camped at Bevaraḥa and besieged

<sup>1</sup> No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> No. 106 of the collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> No. 372 of 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Mallūkhān is very probably the Kath-Malla mentioned in the Telugu poem *Kulā, śrīrādhāraṇa* as having been killed near Kōṭavidu by the Nādvāla chief Nāmpoṣṭa, who was one of the generals of Kṛṣṇarāya. *Levee of Tirumala* Loc. 1. 247.

<sup>5</sup> The Tiruvannāmalai record spells this name as Pūṣpāḍa. A village called Pūṣpāḍa, 17 miles west of Bapatla (Guntur district), is mentioned by Mr. Sewell (*Notes of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 94).

<sup>6</sup> These two chiefs are very probably identical with Śrī Nāḍha Rāya Rāmāya Samanta Śīgāra-Mahāpātra and his son Lakshadharāya mentioned in a record at Kṛṣṇarāya dated Śaka 1471, see Mr. Sewell's *Levee*, Vol. I. p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> The Madagalagiri record speaks of the "Swan-like kings" who were stationed by the Gajapati at Kōṭavidu and were captured by Nādvāla Tanna.

<sup>8</sup> *Forgotten Empires*, p. 319f.

<sup>9</sup> The Amaravati record N. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1907 which supplies the above information appears to be a Telugu inscription with slight alterations and additions of the Sanskrit inscription from the same place published by Professor Lüders in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 176. That Kṛṣṇarāya made the rich gift of *talapuranaha* at Amarasvara is also mentioned in the Tiruvannāmalai record.



Kondapalle where according to Nuniz, were collected "all the chiefs of the kingdom of Orya." Krishnaraya here, made captives of many people of high rank "amongst whom was a wife of the king (of Orya) and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom." The Kalahasti record supplies the names of some of the chiefs who were captured alive at Kondapalle and pardoned. These were Prabhānu-Śrināchandra-Mahapātra,<sup>2</sup> [Bojajanta-Mahapātra and Bijilikhan. The last mentioned chief, evidently a Muhammadan, was either in the service of the Gajapati king or was sent as an ally by the Quth Shahi king of Golkonda to defend Kondapalle against an attack of Krishnaraya.<sup>3</sup> From Kondapalle Krishnaraya appears to have quickly followed the Gajapati into his own dominions taking on the way by a single assault Aracagiri, Undrikonda, Uragonda, Aravapalli, Jubbipalli, Kuppakonda, Kappanurayi, Nargonda, Kambhammettu, Kurakagiri, Śankaragiri and other fortresses and strongholds in the country of Teluguraya.<sup>4</sup> He marched to Simhachalattūru set up a pillar of victory there, and made rich presents in company with his wives, to the temple on the top of the Samvelidam hill. There exist even today three records in Telugu characters written on the basenut of the entrance into the Āsthana-mūlāpa and on a pillar of the verandah round the Lakshminarasimhasānu temple at Simhachalam, which relate in unmistakable terms the victories of Krishnaraya, his stay at Simhachal and his gifts to the temple. Telugu literature also, is ever full of describing the prowess of the king and his setting up the pillar of victory in the very heart of the Kalinga country.<sup>5</sup> Nuniz says that after this event Krishnaraya returned to Vijayanagara, the offer of the hand of the Gajapati's daughter in marriage to Krishnaraya being a subsequent event. The interesting narratives of Tirayampallai and Kābhastī quoted above, also agree in stating that the king returned from Simhachal to Vijayanagara by way of Rajamahendri, where the two queens again distributed rich presents. From the *Purapataparānamu* and other Telugu works<sup>6</sup> however, we learn that Krishnaraya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Potturūra, but went further north even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the

<sup>1</sup> *J. Appl. Polym. Sci.*, **1**, 518.

1. *Ergebnisse der Untersuchung* | 33

There is also a fragment of a letter from the same period, the last sentence of the fragment of the letter being "I am sure I shall be able to do it" (N. 51, f. 100). The fragment of the letter is from the letter of the same period, the last sentence of the fragment of the letter being "I am sure I shall be able to do it" (N. 51, f. 100). The fragment of the letter is from the letter of the same period, the last sentence of the fragment of the letter being "I am sure I shall be able to do it" (N. 51, f. 100).

194. Mr. Rowson, *Forgotten Empire*, there is a reference to a treaty between the Q. & the king of the kingdom of Kush, who reigned in B. C. 2000. It is said that the king was named "Ishar" and the Muhammadan king at the time of Krishna's conquest.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these places lie in the Raichur, Nagardola and Warangal districts of the Nizam's dominions. Mr. Vincent Stuart Pant, *Index of Telugu Place*, 172, supposes Kankhal to be identical with Kankhal in the Naluru district. This is doubtful, as the place is specifically mentioned among the fortresses of Tenali and is still known to be a fortified town of some importance in the Raichur district.

\* Nos. 343 to 345 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899.

7 See e.g. *Index of Telugu Poets*, p. 175. The inscriptions at Sambāshaktā, significantly however, not to mention *Kṛṣṇa-mārtāṇḍa-bhāṣa* Gajapati *captaṁ-ga-hanaṁ* which means 'the death yet of the army of the Gajapati (king)'; nor do they refer to the pillar of victory set up at Poṭṭunāra.

\* *Ibid.* p. 178.



country of Oddādi and burnt his capital town of Kataka (i.e. Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters. Whether this expedition into Oddādi and the burning of Kataka happened in continuation of Krishnaraya's setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunuru, or whether it was the object of a fresh campaign subsequent to the king's return to the capital, as stated in inscriptions and by Numiz, cannot be definitely stated at present for want of epigraphical records to confirm the facts registered so far, only in Telugu literature. If the stone inscriptions of Katakāsti, Chikānbarin, Tirucannamala, and other places, which are dated about the end of the Śaka year 1438, Dhātva, or at the beginning of Śaka 1439, Iyāra, are to be believed, Krishnaraya must have come back to his capital and made charities in a very large scale in almost every Śiva and Vishnu temple in the Chola-mandala in commemoration perhaps of his victories and must have started again on a fresh campaign against Gajapati. This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Simhachalam records, viz., that Krishnaraya was at Simhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Simhachalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishnaraya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical events not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catūr which is mentioned by Numiz next, perhaps, in chronological order after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catūr cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Numiz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catūr is situated on the Charnasole side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishnaraya's capture, was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor, does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catūr. Mr Sewer thinks there is in this a possible reference to Vellore.<sup>1</sup> But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in the records or registered by Numiz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catūr' of Numiz is identical with Kataka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishnaraya according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. This conclusion is rendered very likely by the records at Simhachalam, one of which dated in Śaka 1441, speaks of villages granted by the Gajapati on behalf of Krishnaraya, while the two others of Śaka 1438 in the same place register gifts of jewels by the king and his two queens and record Krishnaraya's conquests only up to his setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunuru—an event which perhaps, was not enough to bring the Gajapati. Very likely Numiz took 'Catūr' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnaraya started against Catūr. An examination of Krishnaraya's records,

<sup>1</sup> Odjara is the same as Odjara of early Telugu inscriptions. It was ruled by the Mataya chiefs at the end of the 13th Century A.D. see *Annual Report of Epigraphy for 1900*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320 to 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 321, note 1.

dated subsequent to his return from the first campaign against Kalinga and the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunuru, also happens, in a way, to confirm the possibility of an attack on Chittick. Some of these are full of references as to the improvements which the king caused to be made to the famous temples of Southern India and record his remission of taxes in their favour.<sup>1</sup> About the end of the cyclic year Idattu (= Śaka 1438), in Puskya sudi 13, Monday, the king is stated to have visited Kaṭṭi (= Kānasth), worshipped the god there and caused to be built the four-arch-pillared *mandapa* and the big *gopura* of the last gate which is now recognised as the *gati-gopura* and stands somewhat separated from the main temple. Perhaps in this same year the following additions were also made to the temple at Tīruvannāmalai:

- (1) the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* ;
- (2) the sacred tank dug in front of this (*maṇḍapa*) for the floating festival in Spring ; and a reservoir called Tīrimalaiśēvi-Ammaṅ-samudram, to supply water to this same tank ;
- (3) the *gōpura* with eleven storeys .
- (4) the *maṇḍapa* where the god is taken on the seventh day (of the annual festival) ;
- (5) the sacred car for Vināyaka ;
- (6) the *gāruḍa* (with gopur) on the door and four posts on the gate called *Uttamakōtan* and others ;
- (7) the *gāruḍa* of the corridor with several gold plates of the highest quality ;
- (8) the gilding of the pinnacle ;
- (9) the (well called) Ārāvamudu-kiṇaṅga in front of the kitchen, in the temple of the goddess ;
- (10) the central shrine ; and
- (11) gold and silver jewels, images, *etc.*

The north *gopura*, again, of the temple at Chiklabaram was built by Kṛṣṇarāyaṇa on his return from Sindhāra.<sup>4</sup> In the following year (Kārti corresponding to Śaka 1430), the king remitted taxes "amounting to 10,000 *carohāṇa* in favour of the

"It does not follow, as was incorrectly suggested by K. Krishnaswami Iyengar, that the "Vudugrand" temple which bears records of his time, may have also been built by Krishnarayana; see *South Indian Temples*, Ch. XII. The Kanakadurga inscription at Haveria would seem to prove that the latter temple was erected prior to the construction of the Sengasiddha Mahadeva of the Solar race, who now (c. 1800 A.D.) refers to the following buildings constructed by him, at Vijayanagara: "A temple and a mandapa for the god Kannarayana, known as the golden city of Visvanagari, the celestial mandapa for the god Ramesvara, parvata Hazira Hanuman temple at Kanaka-nampat and Saran, an asteraphor Durgah or a worship place at Viranashah."

<sup>a</sup> See e.g. No. 74 of the Engraphical collection for 1908.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904, paragraph 29.

\* Nos. 174 and 176 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892. The first two were of most of the famous temples of the S. Ch. that have been built in the S. of Kishinouye, and the latter was a temple of the S. Ch. which was 100-pillared and 1,000-pillared *mangajaya*. We frequently hear of *rajya-gujaram* which means the "tower of Rajar" or "tower of Rajar" and it is said that it was built by the Rajar who extended his power over the whole of the empire.

[illegible]

Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of the Chola country, and issued a general order that the gift may be recorded on stone in all the temples which were thus benefited. About half a dozen inscriptions examined so far at different places in the Madras Presidency record this grant and specify the Viṣṇu and Śiva temples which were the beneficiaries. The record from Śenlamangalam defines the four boundaries within which the temples were situated<sup>1</sup> and to which the gift was extended. These must have included a very large number. It is important to note that this magnificent gift was made from the banks of the river Krishavērī (i.e. Krishna) and in the presence of the gods Anantaśayana of Uḍuvallī and Mallikarjuna of Bejavada *not* in the year Śaka 1438 in which Krishnarāya was on his way back to his capital from Sūlāli but in the *following* year 1439. The choice of the bank of the river Krishna for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chola-mandala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Krishnarāya was about this time, *i.e.*, the end of Śaka 1439, engaged in his march for a second time to the Kalinga country against 'Catoir,' which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack. Krishnarāya's charities were not confined to the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples alone. He appears to have conferred grants also on the Jaina and Buddhist temples in his kingdom, in the latter part of the cyclic year Dīpī corresponding to Śaka 1438.

On returning from his campaign against Cuttack, perhaps about Śaka 1441, Krishnarāya must have begun making the necessary preparations for the attack on Raichur which is so vividly described by Nizām in his chronicle (Chapters VII to XII). The only reference to the battle of Raichur in epigraphical records is an inscription from Tirakkadaiyār<sup>2</sup> which registers how a Brahmana named Āput-salaya served the king in his military campaigns against Trachalur (Raichur) and Vijayanagara (Bijapur?) and praised him. The date of this battle has been finally settled to be Saturday, the 19th May, A.D. 1520. Nizām mentions a large number of chiefs who commanded the several detachments of Krishnarāya's forces on this occasion<sup>3</sup>. These were Canarayaka Trimozara, Trimozayaka, Adipannayaka, Com-Jamara, Comara, Ogemdraka and Comarhera and of whom were chiefs who being granted extensive grants of the Vijayanagar empire, were bound to put into the field a prescribed number of soldiers, horses and elephants in time of war, to help their overlord. After taking possession of Raichur, Krishnarāya is stated to have overrun the country of the Āl. Śākā, to have stayed for some time at Mudgal and to have destroyed the fortress of Kalbarga, where he raised to the throne one of the deposed

monarchs." The same gift is recorded in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII, No. 64. From both the records it appears as if the grant ministers Śaiva, Viṣṇu, Śākā, and Āpānāyaka were closely instrumental in securing this remission for the people; see also No. 345 of 1892.

<sup>1</sup> These are from Tirthangudi (South Arcot), Śēdamangalam (South Arcot), Kaṇṇanūr (Trichinopoly), Tiruvālsur (Tanjore), Elvānsūr (South Arcot) and Tirupulātturai (Trichinopoly).

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1902*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> No. 198 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

<sup>4</sup> No. 47 of the collection for 1902 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907*, paragraph 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 326, 327 and 328. Of the names of Krishnarāya's generals mentioned here, Trimozara may correspond to Tirakkoḷarasa of Śāyana's list who was one of the Mahādāyaka's in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Nos. 25 and 26; Trimozara and Āpānāyaka correspond with Śāyana's Trimappayaka and Āpānāyaka mentioned in No. 3 on p. 181. Comarhera is probably the same as the Rāyana's Comarhera whose son was Āpānāyaka of *Forgotten Empire*, p. 16. Mr. Sewer identifies Chamaraka with Gamaṇāyaka (Guvindarāja) a brother of Śaiva Timma and Comarhera, with K. māra Viṣṇu of Mysore.

<sup>6</sup> In *Āmṛita-māṇḍūṭī* Kṛishṇarāya speaks of having conquered the Yavanas (i.e. Muhammadans) at Kalbarga.

Muhammadan princes whom Ismail Ādil Shāh had kept in prison. In the last days of his reign the king again made a vigorous attempt at securing the Ādil Shāh but died before he could actually besiege Belgaum, whether the Massalima king had fled.<sup>1</sup> Thus Krishnaraya's rule was one of continuous warfare in which, as we have seen, he was ever successful.

His able minister and general throughout these victorious campaigns was Sāhaya-Timma popularly known as Appa.<sup>2</sup> He was a Brahmana of the Kunjara *gotra*, son of Rāchaya and grandson of Vēṇaya.<sup>3</sup> His brother was Sāhaya-Gōvīdya who for some time served as a provincial governor in the Gadag-rajya,<sup>4</sup> like his brother, some-time in Kaduganadu and the Terkanatabyasim in Mysore,<sup>5</sup> and who after that, apparently, filled some important office at the capital. Vijaya again.<sup>6</sup> Sāhaya-Timma is frequently mentioned by Annas as being greatly respected by the king. It is even supposed that it was in consequence of this regard which the king bore for him that Sāhaya-Timma received the surname Appa<sup>7</sup> which literally means "the respectful father." In a record from Bapatla (Guntur district) Sāhaya-Timma is described as Krishnaraya's "own body" and holds the *haraḥa* Dharmavaridhi. Timma's two brothers were Appa and Gōpa of Nālur who served one after the other as governors of Konda vidurason after it was captured from the Gajapati king.<sup>8</sup> The first, it may be noted, is stated to have married a daughter of his maternal uncle Sāhaya-Timma, and to have patronised the Telugu poet Malayyagari Mallanna of Kondavira who dedicated to him the poem *Rajasekharacharitam*.<sup>9</sup> The second, Gōpa, was a Sanskrit scholar. He is known to have written the commentary called *Chandrika* on Keshavanātha's philosophical drama, the *Prabodhachandradaya*.<sup>10</sup> Gōpa was perhaps for a time also in charge of the fortress of Gadag and Apparasaṃya (Appa) was ruling the Srirangasim in Mysore, in Śaka 1442.<sup>11</sup> Timmarasa appears to have had an assistant (*upapradhana*) in the person of Somarasa, son of Melanamaṇḍa or Mēṇṇa of Chandragiri. The epithet Sāhaya which Timmarasa adopted appears to have been purely out of respect for that *haraḥa* which was also held by the kings whom he served, and these latter again, may have appropriated it from the usurper Sāhaya-Narasīnga.

Although from the foregoing paragraphs, it may be inferred that the fortress of Udayagiri was in the hands of the Gajapati king prior to Krishnaraya's capture

<sup>1</sup> *Forgotten Empires*, pp. 352 f., 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 231, Text line 24f.

<sup>4</sup> No. 240 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., Introduction, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Timmarasa was the brother of Timma, *Forgotten Empires*, p. 284. In regard to Śaka and the date of the *Prabodhachandradaya*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III., pp. 72f. and *Prabodhachandradaya* (*ibid.* 4f.), in Śaka 1443 (perhaps, a misprint for 1439).

No. 190 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897. Mr. Appaṇṇa states that a popular Telugu verse on Timmarasa speaks of him thus: "The host of kings, Keshavanātha calls you Appa," father of the Timmarasa, whose name was "You are steady as a signpost tower, god, Maṇḍaḥa."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 111f.

<sup>9</sup> *Index of Telugu Poets*, p. 210. From the Malayalam manuscript (p. 30) we learn that Gōpa was nephew and son-in-law of Sāhaya-Timma.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., Additions and Corrections, p. vi.

<sup>11</sup> *Index of Telugu Poets*, p. 310, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 112.

<sup>12</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX., No. 11.

<sup>13</sup> No. 186 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.







âya's successor Achyuta had to invade the Travancoreya, was also called Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to swell the article by giving a list of the officers of Krishnarāya who served, as provincial governors or their own agents in the several divisions and sub-divisions of the vast Vijayanagara empire; or again of chiefs who held Nayarkans (i.e. *jaghirs*) under the king for maintaining an army. It is enough to state that the coronation of Krishnarāya was honoured, as stated in the Telugu poem *Krishnarājajayantam*, by the presence of the charming personage, Ārya Bikkarāja, the famous seignior of the family of Aikyaru (Owky), the heroic Nandyalayaru, the warlike Velugōtiyaru, Ponnasāyaru, Būdaśivāru, Rāvelayaru and other feudatories who attended on the king by and might with their enormous forces of men, horses, chariots and elephants. Sanskrit assistance on the battlefield is said to have been rendered by the chiefs of the Ārya family, those of the Fort-gutti family, and of the Gobhūr and the Nandyalā families. The grandeur of Krishnarāya's court attended by so many chiefs might really have been a sight which fully justified the outbursts of admiration of the Portuguese chroniclers Nunez and Paes, in their description of the great wealth of Vijayanagara, its festivals, its military strength and its heroic king. A poet of the first rank who flourished at this time was Alasth-Pegannur the Post-Laureate of Krishnarāya. The king himself was a great scholar who composed the elegant poem *Anantamutpada*, also known as *Vishnu-chittagomam*. He loved letters, patronised men of learning and attracted to his court the foremost of scholars and his companions and councillors. In the words of the Kanakadurgā record the events

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 188. In my *Annual Report for 1900-2*, p. 1177, I suggested that this Vira-Naraotharaya-Nayakkar might have been the father of Krishnaraya, inasmuch as the gift recorded in the Tirumala and the Madagada inscriptions had been made for his merit and because *swami* and *self-spar* were terms which indicate a regard and love. But, as the Tirumaliyam and the Achcharapatakam records register gifts independently by him for the merit of the king and as the latter epigraph calls him distinctly the son of Talarakkula udam-Bhattar, there could be no possible reference in the records quoted above either to the father of Krishnaraya or to his brother. Evidently another Saluppa Vira-Naraotharaya Nayakkar was another who could not be separated from the king and was intimately connected to him. This is partly shown by the description of him as a younger son who was brought up and was treated by the king as his own father (above, p. 188, footnote 7). But again, the *Agastya-gotra* and the Bôdha-vimamsothana of the Vira-Naraotharaya Nayakkar as registered in the Achcharapatakam record, are agreed to identify him with Saluppa Talamai of the Râkshasa race and the Apastambakula. An exact record of his reign is not found in the *Chitra-vat* (No. 218 of 1900) given by Vira-Naraotharaya the king Saluppa Dhanu. This suggests that Vira-Naraotharaya reigned for 5, to 10 years, but not 50 years as is said in the *Madagada-Nakula* (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 343) held large territories which bordered on Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> *Idea of Telugu Poets*, p. 230. Some of the families herein mentioned are well known. Āryāṭi Bakkaraju was the house agent and father of Śaṅkara, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇaiah, an accomplished Telugu scholar of this article. The Poligars of Oṅk are mentioned in the *Kurusa Memoirs*, p. 67. The Nannayana and Vāṇa poligar figures frequently in the time of the Karnāṭa kings of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty. It is mentioned in Telugu literature that Immaraṇṇa, a chief of Atavikūḍa (perhaps Oṅk?), and Nannapuraju of Nandyalā—both contemporaries of Aṅga Rāṇaraju, were very big in the army of Harihara and Bukka. In the *History of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara*, by Kondarāo Iṅṇaśastry, *History of Telugu Poets*, p. 243. It is difficult to see how Āryāṭi Bakka, who lived in the 16th century, even the kingdom of Nāṅga-Nṛsiṃha, the earlier Nannapuraju could have been present at the court of Kṛṣṇaśastry. If he were, he must have lived to a good old age.

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registered in the foregoing paragraphs might be summed up thus :—“ Having defeated all his enemies in this world, planted a pillar of victory at Pottannuru, seized the elephants, cavalry and all the extensive territory of the Yavana king, Krishnadevarāya-Maharaya conquered all quarters, returned to Vijayanagara (and) ascended the jewelled throne, and entrusted the entire administration of the kingdom to the minister named Saluva-Thimma, who was faithfulness itself, the abode of all good qualities, whose glory outshone the sun and who surpassed the preceptor of the gods in wisdom. (He) was enjoying the boundless and unequalled happiness of sovereignty while his mind was occupied with the highly revered assemblages of wise men who had mastered the ocean-like sciences of words, sentences and their correct meaning and who were like wind to the chaff, *i.e.* opposing scholars, of those who were learned in poetry, drama, rhetoric and foreign languages; of poets who were versed in the fourfold composition, and of others who were learned and great, and was always engaged in fulfilling the desires of supplicants all over the world.”

King Krishnaraya was in no way less famous for his religious zeal and catholicity. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. We have already referred to the munificent gifts which he lavished on the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Bauddha temples. The Mādhva teacher Vyāsātirtha, to whom is attributed the foundation of the now existing Vyasaraya-matha, was a contemporary of Krishnaraya and was the recipient of many rich gifts from that king. Krishnaraya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his zealous look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and, above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmanas, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs who sheds a lustre on the pages of history.

A traditionalary Telugu verse supposed to be the composition of Alasana-Pundana refers to the passing away of Krishnaraya in Śaka 1447, Tarana.<sup>2</sup> But evidence from inscriptions clearly makes his reign extend to the beginning (Varākha) of Śaka 1452, Virodha, in which year his half brother Achyutaraya is also stated to have been crowned king of Vijayanagara. Numa-nāthana is a son of Krishnaraya<sup>3</sup> who though 6 years old, was chosen by the king to succeed him during his lifetime, but the prince

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, Introduction, p. 41, and also, *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of I. J. Poole*, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> No. 625 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906. It is interesting to note that the inscription refers to a certain Kūṇapa Nāyaka who was a brother-in-law (brother of Krishnaraya). He must either have married a sister of Krishnaraya or one of his sisters must have been married to the king.

<sup>4</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 369 and p. 367. No. 143 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906 speaks of a son of Krishnaraya, named Tirumala-nadāya-Mahāditya as ‘the son of the earth’ in Śaka 1446, *i.e.* about 15 years prior to the death of Krishnaraya. Perhaps the king had actually made this son Tirumala a crown-prince in his year. Tirumalayādēva Mahāditya, the son of Krishnaraya, again figures in two records from the Bangalore district *Ep. Carm.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 8 and 42, both of which are dated in Śaka 1446. The Śaiva general Tirumala-Dandabaka referred to in these two epigraphs is perhaps identical with Tirumalayya, son of the great minister Saluva-Thimmaraya, mentioned by Numa-nāthana. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 364.

having died soon after, Krishnarāya had to elect his brother Achyuta to be the ruler after him.

Núñez who for some time, at least, stayed at Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutarāya does not speak of this king in the same appreciative terms as he has done of Krishnarāya. In Chapters XX to XXIII of his chronicle which he devotes to Achyuta, he speaks of the king's vicious and tyrannical nature, his weakness and lack of military prowess and of bordering on cowardice, his taste for portulac grease and his entire want of independence of character. Added to this dark picture of his character the only political event Núñez mentions is that which relates how Achyuta patched up a peace with the Yaulleo (Ali Shah) at a heavy ransom following the enemy's approach "Nagallapor (Hospet) a league from Bisaga" and to raise it to the ground though under his command the king had as many as "two hundred" feodatory chiefs who maintained "six lakhs" of soldiers. In consequence of this Raichur is said to have been lost to Vijayanagara.

This estimate of Achyutarāya's military prowess by Núñez may not be altogether far from the truth. Yet inscriptions declare him to have been a powerful king who, though he may have ceded a small portion of his empire to the Muhammadans, must have extended his sovereignty into the farthest south of the Indian Peninsula and maintained the reputation of his great predecessor Krishnarāya in his liberal donations to temples and Brāhmanas. Achyutarāya must have also made his power felt even in the distant corners of his vast dominions, as is evidenced by the large number of feudatories who explicitly acknowledged him their sovereign. In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900* (paragraphs 70 to 77), are detailed Achyutarāya's conquests as they are described in two epigraphical records from Conjeevaram (Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). Crowned on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Kārtika<sup>1</sup> in the cyclic year Vinodina, Achyuta is stated to have promised protection to the chiefs Rāyanarāja of Nāgabhūti, Mallarāja of Ummattur, Venkatadr and other Nāyaka feudatories that had applied to him for protection, to have reinstated such of the rulers as had lost their territory, to have sent armaments (•) to the Tiruvadi-rāja, to have set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tamraparnī (river), and to have received tribute from the Tiruvadi (i.e. the king of Travancore). Having subdued the chiefs Tumbichelu-Nāyakkan and Śaṭaya-Nāyakkan, he is stated to have accepted (in marriage) the daughter of the Pāndya king. Three years after the commencement of this victorious campaign, i.e. in the cyclic year Nūcana, on the 12th day of the bright half of the month Karkāṭaka i.e. Śravana, the king entered the town of Kāñchi (Conjeevaram) with his queen Varadācēvi-Aroma<sup>2</sup> and prince Komara-Venkatadri alias Chikka-Udaiyar, who, according to the *Achyutarājābhyaṅgam* mentioned below, was the *gucaraja* at the time.<sup>3</sup> He visited the temple of Varadaraja, weighed himself against pearls in the presence of that god, bestowed the gifts called *maha-*

<sup>1</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 278 and 289.

<sup>2</sup> We have seen that Krishnarāya was still living in the month Vaiśākha of this year. Consequently his death must have occurred some time between Vaiśākha and Kārtika. The *Achyutarājābhyaṅgam* says that Achyuta was mounted at Nēnādri, i.e. Tirupati, before entering Vijayanagara (Vijayanagara).

<sup>3</sup> Two records in the Viṅṭhal temple at Vijayanagara (Nos. 4 and 5 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904) register grants for the merit of Achyutarāya and (his son) Chikkarāya.



*bhūtaghaṭa* and *sohasragodāna*, and made presents of villages and of rich jewels set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz and lapis lazuli. A record from Tiruppanangadu, dated in Śaka 1453, Kāra,<sup>1</sup> supplies the additional information that it was the *mahamādulāśvāra* Tirumaladeva-Maharaja that led the expedition into the Tiruvadi-dēśa (i.e. the Tenavāre country) the reason for so doing being apprehension of a certain Virā-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka who had deserted his charge and fled to the Tiruvadi for protection. Having secured the chief it is stated that Tirumaladēva was pleased to arrive at Kaiñchipuram in the solar month Makara (i.e. Magha) of that year. We learn also that the charge against Virā-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka was that he was exacting *jodi* from the village of Tiruppanangadu, though this tax has been excused in favour of the temple there, under orders of Sūrya-Tuṁṁṁya, i.e. the days of Krishnarāya. Apparently his escape into the Tiruvadi country and his subsequent capture were the result of this misbehaviour on the part of Virā-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka. Bogayyaḍēva-Mahārāja of the Solar race and a descendant of the Cholaso Uraiyar, who in the meanwhile had, evidently, succeeded 'the deposed' Virā-Narasimharāya-Nāyaka in the governorship of the country round Tiruppanangadu, brought this matter to the notice of the general Tirumaladēva-Mahārāja and let the *jodi* result as before. In Śaka 1456, Maṁmatha, Achiyāta appears to have escaped in the north, on the banks of the river Krishna. For, he is stated to have granted from there, in this year, a village for the merit of his mother Ōṁbhelayannamay (Ōṁblikā of inscriptions) and renamed it Ōṁbhelayannamay-samudra in her honour. The king in some of his records assumes Śaiva titles just like his predecessor Krishnarāya and in addition bears the *virudha* 'lord of the southern ocean'; 'conqueror of the Oddiyā and of the army of the Mahāmāyān'; 'a terror to the kings of the Teluṅga country'; 'the establisher of the Chola-mandala and the Tondaimandala' and 'the conqueror of Nam (Ceylon) and all countries.' Achiyāta's charities are known to have extended far and wide even to the temple of Sēta-Madhava at Dharmashikōṭi (Rāmēśvaram). The temple of Vūtṭala at Vijaya-nagara contains eight records of Achiyāta which register gifts to that temple by the king and his subordinates. One of these (No. 9 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904) is of special interest as it records the gift of *sucarumēra* 'a mountain (*mera*) of gold' by the king and is commemorated by a verse composed by the 'student' Tirumalammannavarā who, in all probability was a princess of the royal family. Another, records the consecration of the 12 Vaiṣṇava Āṭvārs and of Tirukkaechi-Namli-Āṭvār within the enclosure of the same temple, on its north side, for the

<sup>1</sup> No. 51 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904 records a grant—the name *god* of a gold-surch, and so is the palm of protection (*abhaya-kṛantā*) and the Śaiva name *Caṁṁṁ*—marked in gold.

<sup>2</sup> No. 353 of the Epigraphical collection for 1903.

<sup>3</sup> No. 47 of the collection for 1900.

<sup>4</sup> This last title was also assumed by Krishnarāya in the latter part of his rule (No. 146 of 1903 and No. 351 of 1905), but we do not know of any *parapara* violence to incite Kañchirāya's interference even in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya country. *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> No. 410 of the Epigraphical collection for 1907; an inscription at Tolachgōḍ (near Rādām) states that the fort at Rādām and the temples within it were repaired by the aid of a certain Chōṁṁṁpa Nāyaṁ, a general of Achiyāta. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 191. Chōṁṁṁpa-Nāyaka is probably identical with Chōṁṁṁṁṁpa mentioned by Nannaz Chōṁṁṁṁṁ *Em. etc.*, p. 372 to have seen the chief *alcid* of the king.

ment of Achyuta, who must have been a staunch Vaishnava. A bank, temple or village under name *Ananda-nidhi* was granted by him to the god Madhava, (i.e. Vishnu) by which act the Brahmanas became rich like "Kubera".

The victorious expedition of Achyutaraya into the Tiruvadi country is the theme of the Sanskrit poem *Achyutarayabhyudayanam* composed by the poet Rsa-athakavi. The cause for the expedition is herein related to be the desertion of his charge by a Chōra chief and his alliance with the Chēra. Achyuta, consequently is stated to have decided upon punishing both the Chēra and the Chōla, and protecting the Pandya who had lost his throne, either as a result of this alliance or for some other cause. From the Tiruppanangadu inscription noticed above it was seen that the common battle were the desertion of Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka and his seeking refuge with the Tiruvadi (i.e. the king of Travancore). Perhaps the *Achyutarayabhyudayanam* where it speaks of the Chōra king, means only the chief Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka who may have been of Chōra descent just like Bogiyya-Jēva-Maharaja mentioned in the Tiruppanangadu record. It is also possible that the term *Setappa* which is applied to him in the Sanskrit poem is only a mistake for *Sellappa* which we have seen, was the title of Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka in the time of Krishnaraya. The subjugation of the rebellious chiefs *Senaya-Nayaka* and *Timbachelu-Nayaka* and the marrying of the Pandya king's daughter which are related in the Kannada inscriptions confirm the second of the two causes for the expedition adduced by the *Achyutarayabhyudayanam*.

Thus it looks as if Achyuta was not altogether the craven that he is represented by Narayana to have been. Nevertheless, he must have experienced a very rough time in maintaining a vast empire, whose enemies were ever snatching under the crushing defeat sustained by them at the hands of Krishnaraya. It is recorded in Telugu literature that immediately after the death of Krishna, the Gajapati king made an attempt to invade the Vijayanagara dominions, but returned to his own country on reading a verse of treachant ridicule flung at him by the old Poet Laureate Abhinava-Pundana who outlived Krishnaraya. That Ādi Śekh, too, actually approached the capital and retired only on payment of a very heavy ransom and the cession of the fortress of Raichur, has been already referred to. But titles like 'conqueror of the Oddyan and of the Muhammadan army,' which Achyuta re-

\* *Journal Report of Epigraphist* for 1904 p. 14, paragraph 24. On the *Abhinavastava* a temple of Vijayanagara is a Sanskrit record in existence, one part of which reads: 'Abhinavastava' temple. The remaining verse is repeated again. See *Chandrasekharendra Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 154, verse 38. Perhaps the Achyutarayabhyudayanam temple was built by him and represents the Ananda-nidhi temple.

\* From the inscription above we know Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka (Setappa) was a Vira-Narasimharaya-Nayaka of epigraphical records. If this is so, it is probable that the Achyutarayabhyudayanam was composed by him or by his son. It is also possible that the Achyutarayabhyudayanam was composed by his son or by his son's son. It is also possible that the Achyutarayabhyudayanam was composed by his son or by his son's son. It is also possible that the Achyutarayabhyudayanam was composed by his son or by his son's son.

*Letters of Telugu* (1904) p. 100. Krishna Raya appears to be called here 'the Samprata king' and 'the lion of Samprata land'. It is said to have taken the form of *Samprata* (Sambhata) or *Sambhata* (Sambhata) as the family name of the famous Lakkavāṇa Mahārāja No. 617 of 1907 and Mahārāja Śrī Rāṇa No. 512 of 1906 both of whom were, apparently, subordinates of King Devārāja II (Saka 1343 to 1368) and bore the title *Antahragaraja*.

\* Above p. 188. The king is even stated to have planted a pillar of victory in the Odra-rājya (Orissa). It has been noted already that some of these titles of Achyuta were adopted from those of his predecessor, Krishnaraya.



cores in inscriptions, if they are not empty boasts—as such are often found to be—may perhaps be taken to indicate that these two hereditary enemies had actually to be conquered before Achyuta could establish himself on the throne of Vijaya-nagara. The statement of Nuziz, however, that Achyuta was entirely under the control and advice of his brothers-in-law, was perhaps an actual fact. It was evidently this trait in his character that brought about after his death, the difficulties about succession (to be mentioned hereafter), and the eventual usurpation by the Āravidu chiefs, who from very early times had rendered substantial military aid to the rulers of the First and the Second Vijaya-nagara dynasties. From the *Achyutarajyabhyudaya* we learn that Varadāmbā, the queen of Achyuta, was the daughter of a Salaka chief, and that the leader of the expedition against Travancore was a brother-in-law of the king. Consequently the *mahamandalesvara* Tirumaladeva-Maharaja who led the campaign against Tiruvadi-rāja must be identical with one of the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta, mentioned by Nuziz. He was also of the Salaka (Salaga) family and is called in one of Achyutaraja's inscriptions "the great minister Peda-Timma, a fish-man to the ocean of the Salaka kings (or of king Salaka)"<sup>1</sup> and sometimes, *kumara Jalakara a-Tirumalayyalēva-Mahārāja* and *Salakaraḥa-Pina-Tirumalayyadēva*.<sup>2</sup> A record from Vēṇṇakpāḍu<sup>3</sup> states that Peda-Tirumalayya was the son of Salakarāja (sometimes also called Lakṣayyadēva), grandson of Singarāja, and great grandson of Lakṣaraja. It is difficult to understand how the opposite terms *peda* 'the elder' and *pina* 'the younger' could be applied to one and the same chief Tirumalayyadēva-Mahārāja. Perhaps as Nuziz states, there were two brothers of the same name Tirumalayyadēva, both sons of Salaka, who served under Achyutaraja as prime-minister and general. The *mahamandalesvara* Harya (i.e. Pedda in Telugu)-Tirumalarāja-Vodevaru, perhaps identical with the Salaka chief of that name, is stated to have constructed a temple for Tiruvengammātha in the bank of the Tungabhadra river and to have presented to it, jewels worked in nine kinds of gems, a golden flagstaff, vessels, and a village in the Mahayaḥa (Mahabar) country.<sup>4</sup> The way in which Tirumalayya is often introduced in inscriptions may also be taken to indicate the great influence which he must have wielded in the management of the State.<sup>5</sup> Some of Salaka-Timma's subordinates were, the Chōla *mahamandalesvara* Bhōḡayyalēva-Mahārāja who has already been referred to as governing one of the provinces of Vijaya-nagara, in which was situated Tiruppanagādu; the *mahamandalesvara* Kaḷathrajayya, son

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906*, Appendix A., No. 11. It may be noted that here Pēdda-Timma is stated to have belonged to the king's *adapa*. By this we have perhaps to understand that either he or his ancestors were on the staff of pages who used to serve the king with news. That these pages also occupied a high position in the State is seen from the statement of Nuziz that one of the commanders of Krishnadeva's forces in his campaign against Raichūr was a 'page who served the king with news' (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 337 and footnote 3), see also below, p. 198f where three chiefs of Sadāśiva bear the affix *Adappattu*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 337 of the collection for 1908.

<sup>3</sup> No. 163 of the collection for 1905. In one record (N. 102 of 1906) the name is reversed as Tirumalayya-Salakayyadēva. From now correctly it ought to have been Salakarāja-Tirumalayyadēva.

<sup>4</sup> No. 544 of the collection for 1909.

<sup>5</sup> No. 16 of 1904.

<sup>6</sup> In one epigraph (No. 241 of 1904) Tirumalayyadēva receives the epithet *seṇa* 'lord.' Gifts by subordinate chiefs were generally made under his orders and for his men. Inscriptions from the Vellore district mention him as having had command over the Vijayagiri and the Channarayana provinces (*Vellore inscriptions*, p. 1476). He was perhaps also in charge of the Śaṅgaḷaḍṛipattu-śrīma (Vijayanagar) (No. 337 of 1908).

of Lankayadeva also of the Chola race; and the *mahamudalaśtara* Rangayadeva Mahārāja, son of Jigataha-Kancheharaja who was in possession of the Channikotasinna. It is interesting to note, here, the contents of a charter (*nammika-sūgama*) registered in a record at Puliyendil (Cuddappah district by an agent of Timmaraju-Salakayya in stake for Salakaraju-Timmayya, as noted already) named Yalappa-Nayanazaru of the Taluva country. It is dated in Śaka 1457 and proclaims to the inhabitants of Puliyendalasinna: "Whatever right and privileges we have agreed to grant to you, that we shall observe in the case of all tenants whether it be those that left the town before the issue of this charter), those that have newly come into the town or those that have been resident in the town; that all of you shall henceforth live peacefully in the towns paying the taxes mentioned in the list granted to you, that tenants who have suffered in the past, not being able to pay the taxes according to the old rule, are pardoned (from payment of arrears) and that any transgression of the rules now passed by us shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding 12 *rūkas*." This clearly indicates the disturbed state in which the inhabitants of the Puliyendal country must have been prior to the issue of this charter, and evidently the necessity for it was high taxation and official oppression. A record from Nandur in the Cuddappah district appears to confirm this inference, for, it states that a certain village which once belonged to the temple of Chokkarathu-Puramai was under official oppression, deprived of its *Tallapaka Tirumalayangāru* and to appeal to Ramanbhatayyavaru, the governor of Coayagir-rajya to get the village once again declared rent-free in favour of the temple. This state of affairs, to some extent, justifies the remarks which Nannaz makes about the king when he says that he was "exact[ing] payments from his captains and people ruthlessly."<sup>10</sup>

Another prominent feudatory of Achyutaraya was Visvanatha-Nayaka, son of Nāganna-Nāyaka, who in the copper plate records of the Nayaka dynasty of Marathi is stated to have been its founder. He must have followed Achyuta in his war against the Tiruvadi-rājya and having been a quoted representative in the Pāṇḍya-rājya, eventually usurped it. Inscriptions mention besides these, the following *mahamandalesaraks* or generals of Achyutaraya: 1) Immadi Varitta Śūnāyaka-dēva-Mahārāja \* 2) Rāyasana Ayyaparasu son of Rāyasana Kādambarasāya,

<sup>1</sup> No. 494 of the Epigraphical collection for 1900.

\* *Ex. Curr.*, Vol. III Br. 6 also speaks of taxation "unknown in former days."

\* *Sp. Cur.*, Vol. III. Dr. G also speaks of taxation "unknown in former days."  
 \* No. 407. *Encyclopaedia of the History of the United States from 1492 to 1876*. Vol. I. and 1876.  
 \* *Encyclopaedia of the History of the United States from 1492 to 1876*. Vol. I. and 1876.  
 \* *Encyclopaedia of the History of the United States from 1492 to 1876*. Vol. I. and 1876.  
 \* *Encyclopaedia of the History of the United States from 1492 to 1876*. Vol. I. and 1876.

\* This sub. The measures taken with the purpose of the... staff... made... + the... of the... of 1984

\* *Forgotten Empire*, p. 369.

<sup>6</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 368.  
<sup>7</sup> No. 13 fto. Epigraphic Survey, 1928 and 1929, *Annals of Epigraphy* for 1928, p. 111. See also  
 Sáyaku the first of the Naxos of two inscriptions, 1928-29, *Annals of Epigraphy*, p. 111. The inscription is from the same site as the one mentioned above.  
 have married a sister of T. ... of the ... A ... to his ... his knowledge ...  
*Trojan Poets*, p. 345, and *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 60f).

<sup>1</sup> N. m. 291 and 295 of the collection for 1877 (imp. q. T. 291). Vasavardana mentioned in N. 111 of the collection series have been related to Vasavardana.

collected may have been collected from the same valley.  
 \* No. 400 of 1934. See description on p. 1476. Arrived in a state to be born in charge of the  
 fortress of Ghazikhan in that capacity, to have remained the day and night and to be called as " " "  
 Dargah, a certain friend of a lady, he using the Bhairava's temple of Moha.

(3) Chinnappa-Nāyaka, son of the door-keeper Madappa-Nāyaka for whose merit a gift was made to a temple of Ganeśa at Tanjore, (4) Achyutarāya-Nāyaka ruler of Gingee,<sup>1</sup> (5) the great minister Vāraṇasi-Varalappanna,<sup>2</sup> (6) *Samayadrōharaṅgaṇḍa* Pāpaya-Nāyaka, who built the temple of Māṇḍa-Gopālā at Tāḍjavūr (Tanjore), for the merit of Trimalayanamma,<sup>3</sup> 7) *Samahōharaṅgaṇḍa* Periya Rāmanappa Nāyaka,<sup>4</sup> son of Gopāṭa-Vasava-Nāyaka and (8) Daṇḍavāya Timmarasayya, son of Sōmarasayya of Chandraḡiri and ruler of the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-śima.<sup>5</sup>

On pp 384 to 389 of Mr Sewel's *Forgotten Empire* are given the names of eleven of "the two hundred captains" of Achyuta among whom according to Naniz "the kingdom of Bismaga was divided." Salvamy or Salvamayque who was the minister of the king at the time of Naniz and possessed "very large territories bordering on Ceylon" has not been traced in Epigraphical records. In the last days of Kṛṣṇarāya, however, there was a chief called Saluva-Nayaka who was raising the Tiruvadi-śirmai (South Arcot district).<sup>6</sup> But it is doubtful if the powerful brothers-in-law of Achyuta, allowed this provincial ruler of a small district, to rise to the position of a minister. The only other name which might perhaps correspond to Salvamy is Saluva-Nayaka, a contemporary of Achyuta in the Pandya country, who, with Tambiener-Nayaka, had almost dispossessed the Pandya king of his throne. It is perhaps this Saluva-Nayaka who held at the beginning of Achyuta's reign, the place of minister, and being deprived of it by the king's brothers-in-law, tried to expand his hereditary estate so as to encroach upon the preserves of the Pandya.<sup>7</sup> The next chief mentioned by Naniz is Ajapareatunappa which form, properly, stands for Ayyaparasa Timmappa and means either Timmappa, son of Ayyaparasa, or Ayyaparasa surnamed Timmappa. Rāyasami Ayyaparasa is known from inscriptions to have been a son of Kondamarasa and one of the king's *mahamandaliśivas* in Śaka 1452 (=A.D. 1530).<sup>8</sup> In the last days of Kṛṣṇarāya this Ayyaparasa was appointed governor of Kondavai.<sup>9</sup> Ajapareatunappa's charge, according to Naniz, included Udayagiri and Kongavido, and the way in which he is stated to have acquired it agrees with what Naniz has related of the son of Colomerade (perhaps, Kondamarasa). Crissapmayque, whose division Aoss has not been identified is, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> No. 80 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> No. 244 of the collection for 1904. According to the *Chōḷa Itihāsa*, *Chōḷa Chōḷavāṇi* this same chief was perhaps also ruling over Tanjavur and Tanjore. *Tamil Chōḷa Itihāsa* V. III, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906*, Appendix A, No. 10. He is also mentioned in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Pt. 120.

<sup>4</sup> No. 40 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.

<sup>5</sup> No. 121 of the collection for 1906; in No. 271 of the collection for 1907 he is called Rāmanappa-Nāyaka without the suffix *Periya*. In Śaka 1453 a certain Rāmanappa-Nāyaka was mentioned in the Kuparai-śirmai in the South Arcot district. It is doubtful if this chief is identical with a son of the Saluva-Nayaka whose sphere of rule was further south.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 302 and 303 of the collection for 1905. Somarasaya is, evidently, the same as the *Samayadrōharaṅgaṇḍa* Somaras mentioned on p. 83, above.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 117 and 118 of the collection for 1897.

<sup>8</sup> On p. 185 above, note 1, I have suggested that the name *Viṇa-Narasimhaṇḍa-Nāyaka*, was probably the Saluva (Saluva-Nayaka) of Naniz.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 181.

<sup>10</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1175. Timmarasayya mentioned in D. 58 may have been the son of Ayyaparasa and identified with Ajapareatunappa of Naniz, but the latter's exact status in the record is not quite clear.



the same as Kishnanna-Nāyaka mentioned in an inscription at Virūḍchipuram (*South-Ind. Ins. &c.*, Vol. I, No. 118). This is probably also the same chief who, as stated by Nuniz, committed suicide in order to escape Achyuta's cruel treatment.<sup>1</sup> Bommu-Nāyaka of Velur and Venkataḍri-Nāyaka are stated to have made some grants to the temple at Jambai (South Arcot district) with the permission of Vayappa-Nāyaka.<sup>2</sup> The first of these is, perhaps, to be identified with one of the Nāyakas of Velur whose descendant Langa is mentioned in the Vajrapaki grant of Venkata I<sup>3</sup> and the second, with Rayasani Venkataḍri, son of Tirumala and grandson of Mosalmadu-Viranna, referred to in the Channāṅgeri plates of Achyuta.<sup>4</sup> A brother of this Venkataḍri appears to have served as a feudatory of Achyuta's successor Sadāśiva.<sup>5</sup> Nuniz mentions also the kings of Bengapur (Barkapur), Gasapa (Gersappe), Becanor (Barakur), Calcut (Calicut) and Belocal (Bhatka) as being subordinate to Achyuta. No inscriptions of his are found among the numerous Vijayanagara records at Bārakur. The Tolaongūl Bāḥano epigraph, dated in Śaka 1455, establishes, however, his domain on the West Coast.

Before closing this account of Achyuta it may not be out of place to note that the Portuguese who were, apparently, staunch supporters and friends of the kingdom in the time of Krishnarāya perhaps under pressure turned enemies on that sovereign's death and strengthened their position by every possible means.<sup>6</sup>

The latest date for Achyuta available from inscriptions is Śaka 1463 (= A.D. 1541-42).<sup>7</sup> His successor on the Vijayanagara throne was Sadāśiva Aya, son of Rangarāya or Aliya-Rangarāya, a uterine brother of Achyuta.<sup>8</sup> Sadāśiva's earliest sure record being dated in Śaka 1459, Hōyīṇṇāḥi,<sup>9</sup> there is reason to suppose that he must have been chosen crown prince already in that year. But, from certain copper plates we learn that Achyuta's immediate successor was his own son Venkataḍri,<sup>10</sup> who ruled on the Vijayanagara throne for some time after Achyuta, and died to the great disappointment of the people. No historical confirmation, however, of this fact has yet been forthcoming from lithic or copper records that could definitely be ascribed to Venkataḍri. Numerous epigraphs of Sadāśiva are current from and after Śaka 1459.

The account of Nuniz stops in the middle of Achyuta's reign.<sup>11</sup> Consequently we are left entirely to inscriptions and literature for our resources in putting together the events connected with Sadāśiva's rule. Firsiroti's account, together

<sup>1</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 197 and 196 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, V, IV, p. 271. Śrīgan Bommu-Nāyaka. Vāṇḍi plates are a record of Bommu in Śaka 1497 (Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, No. 535).

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, V, III, p. 151. These plates disclose the name of a feudatory of Achyuta, named Virūḍpāksha-Nāyaka.

<sup>5</sup> No. 14 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

<sup>6</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 177 f.

<sup>7</sup> No. 21 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906, dated in Kal 4649. Place which corresponds to Śaka 1463.

<sup>8</sup> See Table comp. 3 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. Some of the Hoysala inscriptions state that Aliya-Rangarāya was a brother of Krishnarāya, son of Isvara Nāṇḍimbu, and that Sadāśiva was honored by Rāmārāya was a son of this Aliya-Rangarāya.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906*, Appendix A, No. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Ann.*, p. 187 and *Ep. Coram.*, Vol. IV, No. 58, where Venkataḍri is called Venkataḍri. See also *Ind.*, V, I, V, Ho. 7, and Vol. IX, Op. 186; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> It does not refer to any historical events that happened subsequent to the capture of Nagulapeta by Ydallalo.

with what could be obtained from other sources, has been included by Mr. Sewell in the last chapters of his *Forgotten Empire*. But this is exclusively devoted to the intrigues among the Mahammadan rulers of the Deccan of that period and to their dealings with the Hindu potentate Rāmarāja, until the latter was killed in the battle of Talikōṭa. Mr. Sewell admits there were disturbances at the capital on the death of Achyuta in 1542 but what is collated by him in the sequel, does not disclose whence the disturbances arose, and how Rāmarāja, suppressing all these, set on the Vijayanagara throne his brother-in-law Sadāśiva. He quotes Correa<sup>1</sup> who states that after the death of Achyuta a prince (the son of Achyuta) and his two uncles were assassinated, before Rāmarāja, the ruler of Palanste and a brother-in-law of "the king that preceded the dead king," seized the throne of Vijayanagara and installed on it the puppet king Sadāśiva. There is no doubt that the two murdered uncles here spoken of, were the Sabaka chiefs — the brothers-in-law of Achyuta mentioned by Nuniz — who appear from what is stated above, to have been wielding much power during the lifetime of king Achyuta, and to have been the chief instruments in alienating the allegiance and sympathy of his feudatory chiefs. Rao Bahadur V. rāsalungam Pantulu states<sup>2</sup> that after the death of Krishnarāja the Vijayanagara empire slowly began to disintegrate and petty Zamindars tried to strengthen their position. Of these the most prominent were the chiefs of Arvidu and Nandyal who were related to each other and to the royal line by intermarriages. Sadāśiva was young at the time when Achyuta died; and Sadaka-Tirumarayya, the brother-in-law of Achyuta, attempting to usurp the kingdom, tried to confine in prison the two brothers Rāmarāja, son-in-law of Krishnarāja and Tirumala, who were probably strongly opposed to the schemes of Sadaka-Tirumala. Rāmarāja and Tirumala escaped to Penugonda<sup>3</sup> and there, gathering forces with the assistance of the other Hindu chiefs who, like themselves, were also displeased with the high-headed behaviour of Sadaka-Tirumala, marched on Vijayanagara, captured and killed the Sadaka chief and installed the young Sadāśiva on the kingdom. These events, though not expressly related in copper-plates or stone inscriptions, appear to be true and agree with what is hinted at by the statement of copper plates that "Sadāśiva was mounted to the throne by his brother-in-law Rāmarāja and the other chief-ministers (of Vijayanagara)." In the Telugu poem *Narapatirajayamu* (otherwise called *Rāmarajayamu*) mention is made of how Rāmarāja recovered Guttā, Penugonda, Gendikōṭa, Kandavolu (Karnool), Achara (Adoni) and other fortresses from the chief Sadaka-Tirumala, after killing him. He is also stated in the same poem to have fought with the Nizam and

<sup>1</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Lines of Telugu Poets*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> See the genealogical table at the end of this article.

<sup>4</sup> The Telugu poem *Tanukaritra* also states that "being disappointed with the changes which happened subsequent to the death of Achyuta in the matter of coronation, Rāmarāja (loved by his two brothers) went out of Vijayanagara."

<sup>5</sup> A greatly damaged inscription on the Garuda-mandapa of the Chennakesavaśaṭaṅga temple at Markapur (No. 164 of 1905) gives a genealogy of the Karnāṭa kings, in which it is stated of Rāmarāja that he "subdued the two Vidyānagari (Vijayanagara), Tirumala 'who aimed against his lord' and the whole of the Sadaka family and gave away the wealth of Karnāṭa to the learned who sought his protection."

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 3 and footnote 2.



acquired from him the territory round Anandabād perhaps Anandabādur. Thus the Telugu poem confirms what Corren has stated. It may, therefore, be accepted as a fact that, after the demise of Achyuta, an attempt was made by Saṅka-Timma to set his own nephew Venkatadri-Chukkarsya on the throne, — who as inscriptions say died young (being perhaps assassinated at the instance of his father, — one Rangya<sup>2</sup> — and that then, Saṅka-Timma attempted to usurp the throne but was frustrated by the powerful Rāmārāja, and his two brothers. Whether these events happened after the death of Achyuta or during his lifetime, as Firishtah would have us believe,<sup>3</sup> we are not in a position to decide.

Rāmārāja, on all accounts, was the *de facto* ruler of the empire during the reign of Sadāśiva, though he and his two brothers still acknowledged his *nominal* descent and paid due homage to the puppet king.<sup>4</sup> Rāmārāja collected his numerous large number of feudatories most of whom were connected with the royal family. With their aid he reestablished the Vijayanagara power which had become weak during the feeble reign of Sadāśiva's predecessor Achyuta. Timmadirāja or Timmaraja which was overruled by the Saṅka chief Timmarādeva in the beginning of Achyuta's rule, appears to have reached. Consequently, prince Rāmārāja-Vithalārāja, whose full name appears in other records as Rāmārāja-Timmarāja-Vithalārāja-Mahārāja, was deputed to rule it and perhaps also to rule over its subjects.<sup>5</sup> A record from Kovvur (Channarayana) district, viz. the following, thus classifies a member of the Rāmārāja and the great grandson of Ananda Bukkarāja. This latter fact is also stated in the Telugu poem *Batula-gaṇṇāṇa* or *Dosari Kōmṛakay*.<sup>6</sup> The shorter form Rāmārāja-Vithalārāja-Mahārāja which occurs in his Trivikramacharya inscription<sup>7</sup> is, consequently, to be extracted not as Vithalārāja son of Rāmārāja but as Vithalārāja grandson of Rāmārāja. This suggests a possible custom prevalent in those days, that when grandsons could not be actually named after their grandfathers, they had at least the name prefixed to their proper name in order to keep up the time-honoured practice. Vithalārāja was a powerful conqueror whose victorious "campaigns commenced in Añṭarāyāṇa (Prossidram) in the south and ended at Mudagal in the north."<sup>8</sup> It is stated that he was in charge of the Trichchurappah Sarnat (Trichmopoly) under Sadāśiva and that an officer of his, in the South was a certain Arṇava Basavanna-Nāyaka<sup>9</sup> and his agent

<sup>1</sup> *Lines of Telugu Poets*, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 183, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The events taken from Firishtah and recorded on pp. 168 to 171 of the *Forgotten Empire* are evidently much confused. In "Saṅka-Rāja" there is a distinct reference to the usurper Saṅka-Narasimhaṇṇa, "Honn" Rāja may be his minister Narasimha-Nayaka (not Saṅka-Timma, as Briggs renders the name). "Honn-Rāja" and "Hoje" Timmaraja were contemporaries and may have belonged to the time of Sadāśiva. Of these the first was Achyuta Rāmārāja and the second a perhaps identical with Saṅka-Timma. Firishtah in making Rāmārāja son of "Honn-Rāja" Narasimha-Nayaka omits the reigns of Vīra-Narasimharāja, Kṛṣṇarāja and Achyutarāja, which extended over a period of nearly 40 years.

<sup>4</sup> *Forgotten Empire*, p. 170f.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900*, paragraphs 78 to 81 and the *Report for 1905*, paragraph 34.

<sup>6</sup> Sewell, *Life of Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 324.

<sup>7</sup> No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

<sup>8</sup> *Lines of Telugu Poets*, p. 241.

<sup>9</sup> No. 140 of the Epigraphical collection for 1895.

<sup>10</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900*, paragraph 80.

<sup>11</sup> No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908*, Appendix A, No. 6.

Rāmappa-Nāyaka. Viṭṭhala's rule in the south was not of a temporary nature. He appears to have firmly established himself there. A Kēraḷa king, *Veenu-mun-konda* Butalavira Iramavapur of Jetunga-nādu, was a subordinate of Viṭṭhala and is stated to have made grants for the merit of the prince on the latter's birthlay.<sup>2</sup> From certain other records it also appears as if this Viṭṭhala had a son by name Tinnadeva-Mahārāja who was ruling the Rayadurga-sima (Bellary District) under king Sadāśivarāya.<sup>3</sup> The Nandyala *mahamandalesvaras* also claim, like Viṭṭhala, descent from Āravala Bukka and figure very prominently in inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> So also do the chiefs mentioned in the British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya and others who were connected with the Āravala family by intermarriages.

The most interesting point, however, which deserves notice, appears to be the warm patronage which these numerous feudatory chiefs afforded, each in his own sphere, to Telugu poets, thereby greatly advancing the cause of Telugu literature. Rāmappa and his brothers were themselves accomplished scholars. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmappa, wrote the *Srutiradjaṇi*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*, and earned the name "a Bhoja in poetry."<sup>5</sup> He also accepted the dedication of the exquisite Telugu poem *Vasucharitra*.<sup>6</sup> The genealogical table at the end of this article will show that the Nandyala chief Krishnarāja, patronised Pingali Sūramma, that the poet *Sudakṣiṇyaśrīnāyana* was dedicated to Konṭi-Rāmappa and that the nephews of Aliya-Rāmappa, viz. Narasaraḥa, Gobburu Narasaraḥa and Tinnarata were also patrons of Telugu literature, the last of them having had the honour of ever composing the poem *Parama-yogedāsana*. Śrīvaiṣṇava religion too, received an impetus unparalleled in its history, since the time of the great reformer Rāmānujāchārya. Alasāni-Peddanna and his patron, the great Krishnarāja led the revival of this extremely catholic and unifying creed. The Vaishnava teachers Tirumala Tātāchārya,<sup>7</sup> his grandson Singarāchārya, Tirumala Śrīnivāsāchārya, Kadali-Appalāchārya, Kāndōla-Bhāvanāchārya, his son Śrīrangāchārya, Kāndōla-Devarājāchārya and his son Appunāgaru Tāḍipāka-Tirumalāchārya,<sup>8</sup> Paravastu Munamad-Varadāchārya, Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa and others figure prominently as the preceptors of many of these chiefs and of the Telugu poets under their patronage. Achyuta's voluntary gifts are mostly found to be in favour of Vaishnava temples. In later copper-plate grants Achyuta, is significantly reported,<sup>9</sup> after his death, to have found peaceful abode "in the Vaishnava regions

<sup>2</sup> No. 129 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906. The record is dated in Saka 1467 Parābhava. The exact year is wrong by 11 years.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900*, paragraph B. This Kēraḷa chief is again mentioned in a record at Nanappaḥavida in the Tinnevelly District, but not as a subordinate of Viṭṭhala (*Annual Report for 1910*, paragraph 68).

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Mk. 4.

<sup>5</sup> See the genealogical table at the end of this article.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-9*, p. 5 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 338, Text line 178.

<sup>7</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, page 358. It is herein stated that Bhaṭṭamūrti, the author of the work, received the title Rāmājābhūṣhana from having served first in the court of Rāmappa and having dedicated to him "a number of Sanskrit and Telugu works."

<sup>8</sup> No. 6 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901 refers, perhaps to the same teacher as Tirumala Avaku Tātāchārya and suggests that he was a native of Oṅk which was stated already was the seat of a line of Pāṇḍya who served under Vijayanagara kings. Tirumala Tātāchārya is perhaps the same as the famous preceptor Tātāchārya referred to in the Karṇāṭa grants of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty, see e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 280.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 191 and note 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 14, Text line 73 f. and Vol. IX, p. 33 c.

(above) " Sadāśiva appears to have been a more earnest Vaishnava than his predecessor. His British Museum plates published in *Epigraphia Indica* (Volume IV, pp. 1 to 22) register a grant of 31 villages to the Vaishnava institute at Perambūdār in which is installed an image of the famous Vaishnava teacher Rāmānjanāyacharya. The prince at whose request this grant was made was Kondaraja son of Konṭayya. From other inscriptions we learn that this Kondaraja's brother, Tinnaraja, was also a Vaishnava and a pupil of the teacher Kṛṣṇaśrīrangacharya, son of Bhīvaścharya.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Kondaraja, too, was one of the disciples of that teacher and the request he preferred to Rāmānjanāyacharya to bestow the grant on the institute at Perambūdār, may have been at the instance of this Vaishnava preceptor. Kṛṣṇaśrīrangacharya, Epigraphical records of Sadāśiva in the Vittala temple at Hampi (Vijayanagara) state that Kondaraja's brother Tinnaraja was otherwise called Udayagiri-Tinnaraja, that he built for the merit of his father Konṭayya a *mandapa* for the swinging festival and made provision for the festivals called *Konṭayyachirukumbha* and *Nūtandānta* which were evidently so named after portions of the Vaishnava scripture *Nalagopabandham*. Another Vaishnava feudatory of Sadāśiva was the Kariakottai chief Śrīrangaraja, son of Chāmaraja who made a gift to the shrine of Tirumangalāśvār in the same temple.<sup>2</sup> Konṭayya's son Anbhāmaraja of the Lunar race was still another who made a grant to the same Vaishnava shrine.<sup>3</sup> Thus Vaishnavism appears to have spread with gigantic strides among the ruling chiefs of the Telugu country in the last days of the Vijayanagara rule, and even to-day there is hardly a family of Telugu speaking Zamindars, which is not Śrivaishnava by faith.

To go back to the account of Rāmānjanāyacharya, it will be enough in this article to state that the Karnāṭa copper-plate grants of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty invariably trace his descent to the Moḃa and mention among his famous ancestors Somileya who took 'seven forts in a single day', Pimanna, who was 'the lord of Āravati'; Bukka who 'firmly established even the kingdom of Sāluva-Nrasiṃha' and Rāma who 'took the fort of Avāṅgiri from Sapāda or Sapāta (i.e. Yusuf Ādīl Shāh) whose army consisted of seven thousand horse, drove away Kusappodaya and captured the fort of Kāṇḍanayoli (Kurnool)'.<sup>4</sup> To these military feats of Rāmānjanāyacharya's predecessors may be added what is stated in the *Narapatirijayamu*, about the assistance which Rāmānjanāyacharya's father Ranga I rendered to Narasimha-Nayaka (father of Krishnarāyaṇa) in his attempts to revive the Karnāṭa (i.e. Vijayanagara) empire. "Ranga's war-draughts," it is stated, "were heard in the town of Vijapura (Bijapur); his forces destroyed the towns owned by the Nizām, his sword split the bodies of the Golakonda warriors, and his prowess brought back to life the dwindling power of the Karnāṭa country." Of Rāma himself we learn enough from Firishṭah and other Muhammadan historians. He afforded shelter to the Golkonda prince

<sup>1</sup> No. 167 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

<sup>2</sup> No. 12 of the collection for 1904 and No. 40 of 1885.

<sup>3</sup> No. 15 of *Āṇṭa* for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 51 of *Āṇṭa* for 1889.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 228, and Vol. IV, p. 270, note 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 356.





Adappattu Surappa-Nayakkar and Adappattu Krishnama-Nayakkar,<sup>3</sup>  
Achutappa-Nayakkar-Ayyang and Ramaraja-Venkatadrudeva-Maharaja.<sup>4</sup>

The memoranda of the battle of Talikoti and the causes which led to it are well known. The long-standing, though smouldering, enmity which the Muhamadan principalities ever entertained for Vijayanagara, kindled into a flame when opportunely it was found possible for them to enter into a coalition to smother the Hindu Raj. Ramanaraja of the latter Vijayanagara was pitilessly devastated by the victorious Muhamadan soldiers, and Tirumala the surviving brother, is stated to have some time after usurped the reins of sovereignty, engaging his capital at the same time to Peddapuram. This must have come into existence the Karur or the Thiruvijayanagara dynasty which for another half a century or more, sustained the semblance of Hindu rule till finally it was reduced to insignificance in the growing political intrigues between the European traders, the ambitious Nizam, and the relentless Muhamadan usurpers of the Mysore throne. Epigraphical references to the battle of Talikoti and subsequent history are very scanty. The only two records that mention the event come from the Chitaldroog district. Both are dated in Saka 1490 (= A.D. 1508) and appear to state that Ramanaraja, on the capture of the country (&c.), in consequence of which "the town, i.e. Vijayanagara, the throne, the empire, the districts and all were despoiled and ruined," and that afterwards the prosperous Tirumaladevayya-Maharaja restored to a certain extent, his *rajya* which had so severely suffered on account of the Muhamadan conquest. This Tirumaladevayya is identical with the father of Ramanaja and is known from a little earlier to have been ruling the Kochchikottassam (Saka 1474 (= A.D. 1552) during the lifetime of his brother Ramanaja. Evidently he should have stepped into his brother's place immediately after the latter's death. The latest date for Saka 1490, available from inscriptions is Saka 1508 (= A.D. 1586). This takes us to the reign of Akerkote I, between whom and Sadasiva, we have to accommodate at least for the reign of Ranganatha. It is consequently doubtful if the Barakur record which supplies the date Saka 1508 for Sadasiva, is to be accepted as correct.

88, 210, 1,943,000, 1,111,000.

No. 210 - 184 and No. 111 - 184  
 \* No. 104 of 1898 - 184  
 H. *Adaptus* (i) *Adaptus* - No. 12, 184 - 184  
 H. *Adaptus* (i) *Adaptus* - No. 12, 184 - 184  
 H. *Adaptus* (i) *Adaptus* - No. 12, 184 - 184

\* No. 507 of the collection for 1912

\* No. 607 of the collection for 1912

brother of Ajaya-Ramachandra

[illegible]

born a plot, of which he was not aware.

7 No. 155 of the epigraphical collection for 1905. He made also grants to the teacher Dharmascharya, at Ter via gāh North Ave. (South) Saka 1191, as a subordinate of Śaśasena No. 176 of (1905) and in Saka 1201, as an independent sovereign No. 47 of (1905). He permitted Śaṅga Dharma Nārāyaṇ of Vēlar to make grants to the temple at Vēlar in Saka 1198 *South Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 42 and the Veṅgaḥ chief Chinnaṣa-Nayinṭyāra to assign taxes to the temple at Mārkaṇṭ, in Saka 1201 No. 166 of 1905.

8 No. 200 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901. \* *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, tablet no. 238.

\* No. 140 in the Epigraphic Collection for 1901.

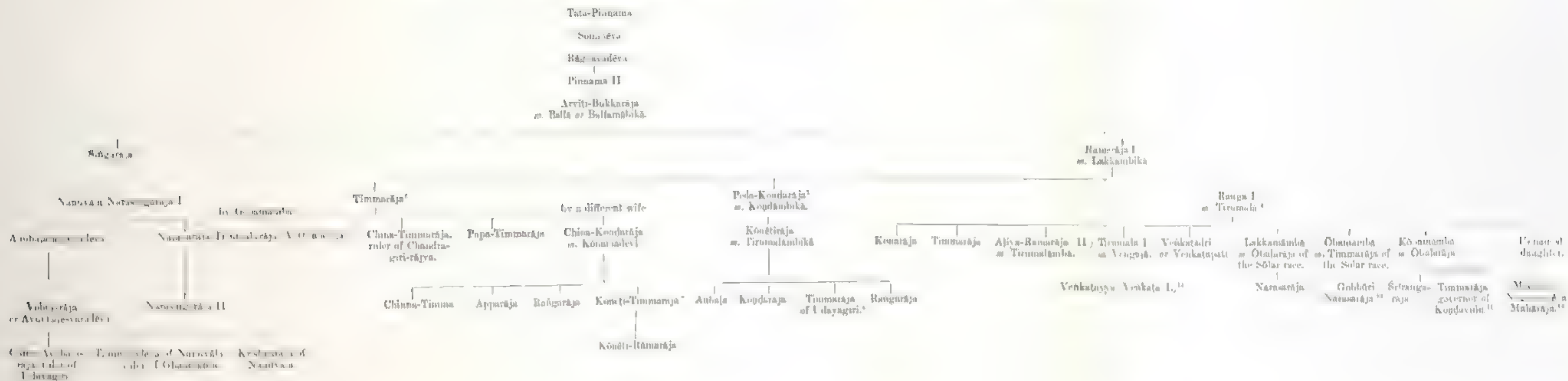
<sup>4</sup> *Mem. Econ. Sci.*, 11, 1911, 238.



I close this article with a genealogical table showing the relation which the numerous Vijayanagara subordinates who flourished during the time of Sadāsiva bore to the family of Ārayida to which also belonged Ramaraja and his successors, distinguished as kings of the Third Vijayanagar dynasty and sometimes, also, as Kuvada kings. I have based this on the information supplied by the Telugu works referred to in Mr. Virēśalingam Pantulu's 'Lectures on the History of the Vijayanagar' and on what I could gather from inscriptions. The main family of Ārayida itself is not represented on the Table, beyond the three brothers Rāma II, Tivāṇa I and Venkatādrī, since this has been given on the Table facing p. 208 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III.

K. VISHNA SASTRI

Chiefs of the Aravidu and other connected families who served under Sadāsiva of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty.



\* The name of the chief is extracted from Pignati Soranna's *Kalapurnadagamu* which was dedicated by him to Kṛishnaraja of this family: *Life of Tirupu Paru*, p. 245.

The *Halobacterium* strains were isolated from the *Halobacterium* strains (Liu, 1941) and the *Sulfolobus* strains (Liu, 1941).

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* IV, p. 4.

No. 272 of 1901) and has been introduced to the *Holothuriscus* (Linné of *Telusa* Poole, p. 242). His father China-Timor called *Chang-yu-Chinma-Timor-yadwa-Maharaja*, in (most) 1901 and No. 23

His grandfather was the author of the book *Rāmāyaṇa* (1899 and 1905 and *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1477 f.). His mother Kōnamāmbā the sister of Rāmāyaṇa is referred to in No. 161 of 1903. His father was Maṇḍakāḍi, grandfather Aṭṭamarāḍi and great grandfather Siddhārāja. This family was the author of *Purāṇapāṭiśāhaṇa* (1899 of Telugu Poets, p.

and the name Mahāyāga Mahāyāga No. 19 of the Epigraphical collection for 1899). He built the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-mandapa* for the temple of Mallikarjuna (i.e. Viṣṇu) at Hampi in 1393. The inscription is dated 1393. The stone found refers also to *Īlāmūrāja Śaṅkaraṅgaṇa-paṇḍita-Mahārāja* who is evidently identical with Maṅga (II), the elder brother of Veṅkaṭa I. (Table facing p. 395 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III.)





Fig. 1. Modern bridge over the Baps stream.

## A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN PESHAWAR CITY.

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**I**N the city of Peshāwar there is a small mosque in a back street of the Qissakhanī Bāzar. It is somewhat out of the way and unfrequented. One day I happened to enter the enclosure, and on looking round the unpretentious building, I caught sight of an inscribed stone built up in a niche of the façade. Only the uppermost portion of it could be read, and it was شاه جهان عالمی "Shāh-jahan the King and Champion of the Earth." The lower part of the slab, which as a whole measures 28" by 36", was scarcely discernible owing to the fact of its being evenly plastered over with lime, and as often as the wall had been whitewashed it had also received its due share of coating.

It was clear that a good deal of cleaning was necessary before any attempt at decipherment could be made. I met with some resistance from the Mula who said that the result of my work might injuriously affect his interests, but I succeeded in talking him out of his fears. He yielded, and allowed me to prepare an impression which could be read and understood.

The stone is in fair condition, but the left hand side which, as stated above, was exposed and stuck out of the masonry when first found, is not quite as smooth as the right hand side, which was covered. Also the upper left hand corner is cracked, but the broken portion contains only one letter, the *ā* of the word *سپاد*.

The writing is carved in the surface of the slab and not raised as it usually is in Muhammadan inscriptions. The characters are of the *nasta'liq* type and neatly cut. The language is metrical Persian with the exception of the last two lines in which prose is employed.

*Text.*

شاه جهان بادشاه غازی

بقام خیر عالی کرد بنیاد	لشکرخان	احمداله که از فضل الهی
که مثلش مادر ایام کسم زاد		محب اهل دل عبداللطیف آله
الهی تاجهان باشد بهمانه		پلی سپاد کرد اندر پشاور
بغتت خور جاری باد آب		پیر نازم انامش مهندس

در عهد سلطنت حضرت ظل-الحوائی صدیقراں ثانی و ایام حکومت نواب باهمان بنده رب  
وندود دارد بن ابو محمد فریدی میمنت اتمم یافت \*

*Translation.*

"Shāh-jahān the King and Champion of the Faith—Praise be to God through whose Grace buildings of great charity were founded by that friend of the generous 'Abdu-l-Latīf, whose like the world has seldom produced. He built a bridge in Peshawar—Oh God, as long as the world endures, may it remain. For the date of its completion the mathematician said—'May this charitable work ever endure and prosper.'"

In the reign of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the second Lord of the happy Conjunction, and in the days of the rule of Nawāb Lashkar Khān under the management of the slave of the God of laws, Daud, the son of Abū Mahammad Quraishī it received the blessing of completion."

The date which is contained in the chronogram, *khair-i-jari bād abād* according to the Abjad computation, works out to be 1030 A. H. (=1620 A. D.), being the third year of Shāh-jahān's reign.

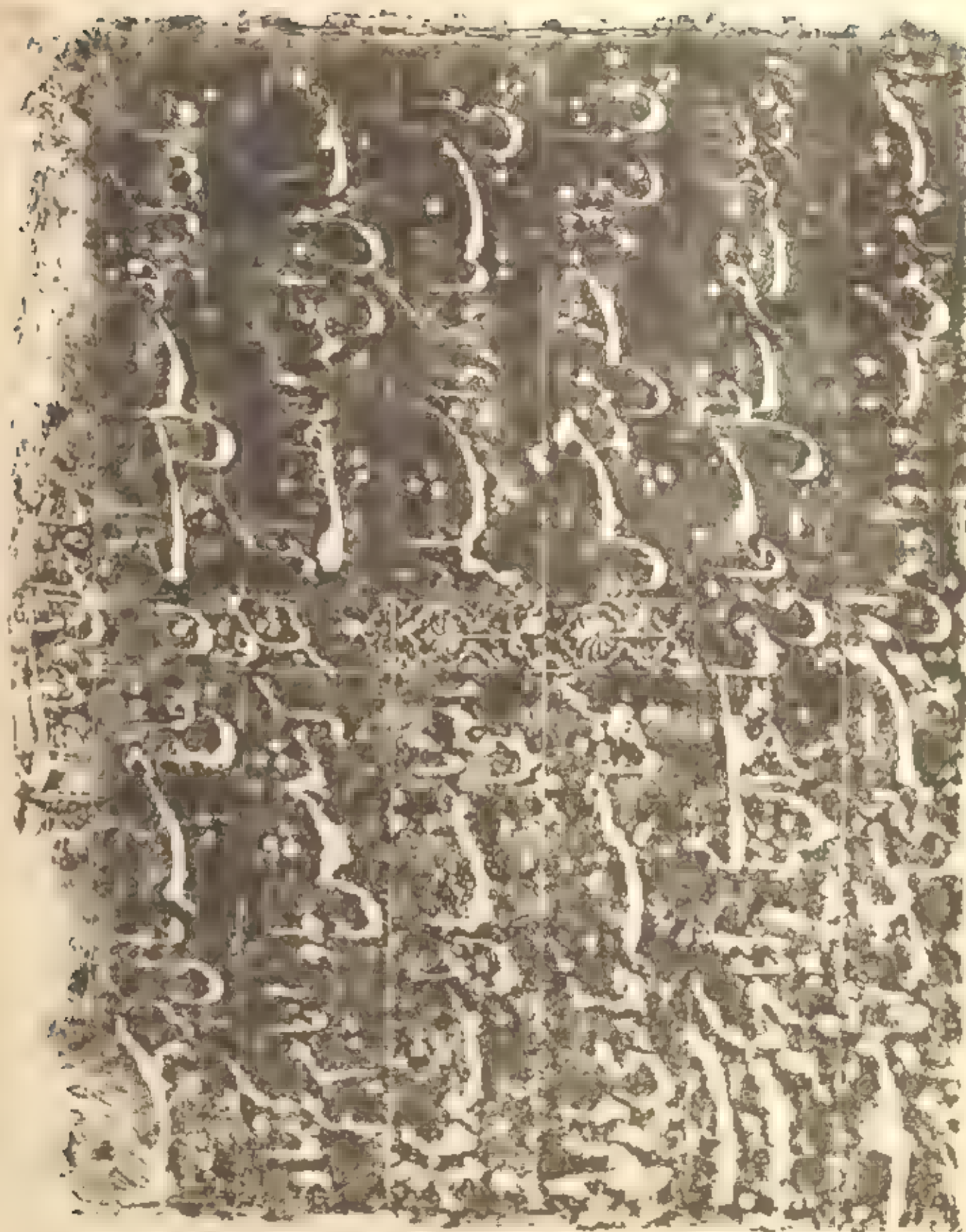
How this inscribed slab found its way to the obscure mosque is explained by the Mullā, who says that it was acquired from the ruins of a bridge over the Barn stream on the Grand Trunk Road about three miles east of Peshawar city, and fixed up in its present position by his grandfather who built the mosque about fifty years ago. It may be assumed that these are the remains of the bridge whose construction is recorded in the inscription.

Besides the name of Shāh-jahān, the inscription records the names of three personages, Lashkar Khān, the Maghal Governor of the time, 'Abdu-l-Latīf the founder of the bridge, and Daud the architect. It may be noted that the name of Lashkar Khān occupies the place of honour in the epigraph, being engraved imme-

\* *Lit.* 'mother of days' cf. *madar-i-hayāt*.



PERSIAN INSCRIPTION FROM PESHAWAR





duately below that of the King, beyond and above the other two names. That the latter are no longer traceable, is not strange. The reign of Shāh-jahān as a whole is described by Wheeler as "obscure," and 'Abul-Latif and Dāūd the architect naturally enough share in this obscurity. The construction of bridges, temples, wells and fountains from motives of charity has been common in the East at all periods, and such structures were most needed along the Royal Road of *Sayr Sāyah* on which Peshawar was the terminus. The building of a bridge over the Barī would be no extraordinary thing, and it is no wonder, therefore, that both the founder and the builder of this particular one are now forgotten.

But the same cannot be said of Lashkar Khān. He is locally known as the successor of Mahabat Khān and the predecessor of 'Alī Mardān Khān, both famous governors whose memory has been immortalised by their public buildings in various places. Lashkar Khān can at least boast of a similar claim to fame, but his name is mentioned in a list of officials in the *Shāh-jahān Nāmah*, by Mahammad Salih Lahori, in which he is stated to have been a *Panahzārī* or commander of five thousand soldiers. His name is not, so far as I am aware, associated with any local monument.

#### WASTED-DIX.

*Postscript.*—Mr. W. Irvine has favoured me with the following note:—

"The *Muāthirū-l-umarrā* contains the lives of three Lashkar Khāns—

1st. Lashkar Khān, Muḥammad Husayn Khurāsānī (*op. cit.* III, 163).

He died in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574) and is thus too early to be the man wanted. His death took place in Bengal and he does not seem to have had anything to do with Kābul, the Panjāb or Kashmīr.

2nd. Lashkar Khān, Abū-l-Hasan Mashhādī (*op. cit.* III, 163).

After Jahāngir's accession (A.D. 1605) he was made Lashkar Khān and acted a long time as Diwān and Bakshī of Kābul. Recalled to court he was sent to subdue the Afghāns in the passes. When Jahāngir started for his first visit to Kashmīr, Lashkar Khān was put in charge of Delhi. Appointed to serve under Prince Parwēz and Manjrat Khān, a person of Prince Kurrām (Shāh-jahān) he reached Barhampur and was taken prisoner by Malik 'Aḍar and sent to Daudatābād. Released on Shāh-jahān's accession, Lashkar Khān received ten lakhs of rupees and was promoted to be *Panahzārī*. Appointed to Kābul in place of Khwāja Abū-l-Hasan Tarbat, he repelled an attack of Nazar Muḥammad Khān of Balkh in A.H. 1038. He was removed in the 4th year of Shāh-jahān, i.e. between 1st Jamādū-th-thān 1040 A.H. and 30th Jamādū-l-awwal 1041 A.H. In the 5th year of Shāh-jahān, i.e. between 1st Jamādū-th-thān 1041 A.H. and 30th Jamādū-l-awwal 1042 A.H. he succeeded Mahabat Khān as governor of Delhi. He resigned his office and retired in the 6th year of Shāh-jahān, i.e. between 1st Jamādū-th-thān 1042 A.H. and 30th Jamādū-l-awwal 1043 A.H.

After performing the Hajj, he proceeded to his home Mashhad in Persia, bought property there, became one of the floor-sweepers at the shrine and died there.

<sup>1</sup> *Short History of India*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> A bridge over the river Suraḡān between Qandahār and Peshāwar was built by 'Alī Mardān Khān in the reign of Shāh-jahān in A.H. 1054. Cf. Boyle, *Muāthirū-l-umarrā*, p. 367.

3rd. Lashkar Khān, known as Jān-Nithār Khān (*op. cit.* III, 168).

His name was Yādgar Bēg, son of Zahardast Khān, a trooper in the bodyguard of Shāh-jahān, while a prince. In the 19th year of Shāh-jahān he was made a commander of 1,000, 200 horse and appointed Dīroghah of macebearers. He was promoted by 500 in the same year and made Jān Nithār Khān.

On Shāh Safi's death (1642 A. D.) Jān Nithār Khān was sent by Shāh-jahān to congratulate Shāh 'Abbas II and to make excuses for 'Alī Mardān Khān. Jān Nithār Khān returned to India in the end of the 21st year of Shāh-jahān's reign (1648 A. D.) He was created a commander of 2,000 and 700 horse and to be Master of the Horse. In the 23rd year he became Mir Tuzak (Chamberlain), in the 24th year Second Bakhshī and in the 25th year (circa A. D. 1652) was promoted and made Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year he was again promoted and appointed Bakhshī of Prince Dārā Shukōh, then leading a campaign against Qandahār. In the 27th year he was recalled from Multān and made Second Bakhshī again *viz* Irā-jat Khān. In the 29th year he was suspected of embezzlement, removed and reduced, but subsequently sent against the rebels near Hīgār (Fīrūzah and Bikaner). In the 31st year of Shāh-jahān's reign on the death of 'Alī Mardān Khān, he was made nāibdar of Kashmīr and promoted. He submitted to 'Ālamgīr, was promoted and sent to govern Multān. In the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr, he replaced Qubād Khān at Thatta and was subsequently sent to Bihār.<sup>1</sup> In the 11th year of 'Ālamgīr he was removed from Bihār and appointed to Multān *viz* Tāhir Khān. In the 13th year of 'Ālamgīr he was recalled to Court, made First Bakhshī *viz* Dānishmand Khān deceased, and promoted to 5,000 (3,000) horse. He died in the end of the same year, *viz*. A. H. 1081."

Mr. Irvine points out that the Nawāb mentioned in the inscription must be the second Lashkar Khān who at that time was Governor of Kābul.--[Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bernier, *Voyages* I, 349 and Mamurī, *Stories of Mughal* I, 362.

# ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>INDIA—</b>		
Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1862.
Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, &c., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole	1870.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla 1871.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.)	Ditto . . . .	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.)	Ditto . . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
Illustrations of buildings near Mathra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1873.
"Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlyle, Assistants, Archaeological Survey of India.	Superintendent Government Printing Calcutta, 1874.

<sup>1</sup> The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India) which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in the list. The reports of the New Imperial Series, which began in 1874 and are still in progress, are marked N. I. S.



Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA— <i>contd.</i>		
Report of the first season's operations in the Peshawar and Khyber Agencies. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 11, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1871.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rajendralala Mitra.	Wymann & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
Report for the year 1872-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.
Report on the antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
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The Rock Temples of Elura or Varul.	J. Burgess.	1877.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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<b>(a) Madras Presidency—<i>contd.</i></b>		
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Trichinopoly . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
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Madura . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Tanjore . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Kombakonam . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Chillambaram . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Conjeveram . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Bijauagar . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
<b>(b) Bombay Presidency—</b>		
Ahmedabad . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Poona . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Karli . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Ambarnath . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Elephanta . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
<b>(c) Bijapur . . . . .</b>		
Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.	
<b>(d) Rajputana—</b>		
Mount Abu . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Ajmir . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Jaipur . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
Ulwar . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.
<b>(e) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—</b>		
Kalburgan . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto.

Title of work	Name and official designation of author	Press, and date of publication.
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(a) Agra and Gwalior . . . .	Ditto	Ditto.
(b) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto	Ditto.
(c) Delhi . . . . .	Ditto	Ditto.
(d) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai	Ditto	Ditto.
(e) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madara.	Ditto	Ditto
(f) Meywar . . . . .	Ditto	Ditto.
(g) Buildings of the Punjab .	Ditto	Ditto.
(h) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi	Ditto	Ditto.
(i) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto	Ditto
(j) The temples at Trichinopoly	Ditto	Ditto.
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Title of work.	Name of official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto	Ditto, 1896.
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Ditto for the months of May 1891 to April 1892.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1892.
Ditto for the months of May 1892 to April 1893.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the months of May 1893 to April 1894.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the months of May 1894 to August 1895.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the months of September 1895 to April 1896	H. Cousens, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1896
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1897	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1897
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1898.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1899	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1903.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>BOMBAY—<i>contd.</i></b>		
Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904.	H. Cousens, Archaeological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Press, Bombay, 1904.
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Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1909.
Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India. Volume I (Pictorial subjects).	John Griffiths, late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	W. Griggs, London, 1893.
Ditto ditto, Volume II (Decorative details).	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1909.
<b>BENGAL—</b>		
Account of a visit to Mount Parasnath (in Chutia Nagpore) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1827. (Ser. 250, Sel. Rec., Bengal, No. 33.)	A. P. . . .	1861.
Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burguan, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna.	A. M. Broadley, R.C.S.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872.
Report on the Archaeology of the District of Midnapore.	H. L. Harrison B.C.S.	Ditto, 1878.
Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sâkya Muni.	Rajendralâla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.	Ditto, 1878.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Bengal.	.....	Ditto, 1879.



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<b>BENGAL—<i>contd.</i></b>		
A List of the objects of antiquarian interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (with historical descriptions)	.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1870.
Revised list of ancient monuments in Bengal, 1886	Government of Bengal, P. W. Department, assisted by J. D. Beglar and W. B. B.	Ditto, 1887.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District.	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto, 1891.
Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic Capital of Pataliputra, the <i>Patalibhara</i> of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains.	L. A. Waddell, M.B.	Ditto, 1892.
A Brief History of the Bodhi Gaya Math.	Rai Ram Anugrah Narayan Singh Bahadur.	Ditto, 1893.
Sikkim Gazetteer . . . .		Ditto, 1894.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District with an explanatory Index (Reprint).	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
List of Statues, Monuments, and Busts in Calcutta of historical interest.		Ditto.
List of Inscriptions on tombs or monuments possessing historical or archaeological interest.	C. R. Wilson, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896.
List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal—Revised and corrected up to 31st August 1895.	.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1896.
List of ancient monuments :—		
Dacca Division . . . .	..	Ditto.
Rajshahi Division		Ditto.
Orissa Division . . . .	.	Ditto.
Chota Nagpur Division . . . .	...	Ditto.
Bhagalpur Division . . . .	.	Ditto.
Chittagong Division . . . .	.	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>BENGAL—<del>continued</del></b>		
Burdwan Division . . . .	.....	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1896.
Patna Division . . . .	.....	Ditto
Presidency Division . . . .	.....	Ditto.
Report with photographs of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhūbanēśvar and caves in the Khāndāgiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, between 1898 and 1903.	M. H. Abbott, M. Inst. C.E. Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works.	Waterlow & Sons, Limited, London, W., 1903.
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year 1900-01.	T. Black, Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901.
Ditto for the year ended April 1902.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ended April 1903.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto for the year ended April 1904.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ended April 1905.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1905-06.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for 1906-07.	A. H. Longhurst, Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for 1907-8.	T. Black, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for 1908-09.	Ditto . . . .	Ditto, 1909.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—</b>		
Description of the antiquities at Kalinjar.	F. Mauey . . . .	Baptist Mission Press, 1878.
List of Photographic Negatives of the monumental antiquities in the North Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archaeological Survey, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
Progress Reports of the Epigraphical and Architectural Branches of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from October 1889 till 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . . .	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1892.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—<i>contd.</i></b>		
Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year 1891-92.	A. Fuhrer, Ph.D., Archaeological Surveyor.	Thomson & Co. Press, Bombay, 1892.
Ditto for the year ending June 1893.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the year ending June 1895.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending June 1897.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending June 1898.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending June 1899.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S., and E. W. Smith, Archaeological Surveyor.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1900.	E. W. Smith, Archaeological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1900.
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Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, United Provinces, for the year ending 31st March 1902.		Government Press, United Provinces, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	E. B. S. Shepherd, Archaeological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	W. H. Nicholls, Archaeological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto	Ditto, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.

Title of work	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—<i>contd.</i></b>		
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Ditto for the year 1907-08.	R F. Tucker, Archaeological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1908-09	Ditto	Ditto, 1909.
List of Christian tombs and monuments of archaeological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Fuhrer, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1898.
The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S.	Ditto.
Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London.
Report on the antiquities in the district of Laharpur, North-Western Provinces.	Poorno Chander Mukherji	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1899.
Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Laharpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto	Ditto.
<b>PUNJAB—</b>		
Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.		Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archaeological Survey	----
Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator	1889.
Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archaeological Surveyor	W. Hall & Co., Lahore, 1891.
List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein.	1899

Title of work	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Key-note list of objects of Archaeological interest in the Punjab.	C. J. Rodgers, Archaeological Surveyor.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta
Report of the Archaeological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archaeological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Custom Printing Works, 1901.
Annual progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor, Punjab Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	Ditto	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto	Economic Press, Lahore, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto	Ditto, 1908.
<b>N.-W. PROVINCE—</b>		
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamalgarh during the months of March and April, 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th February 1874.)	Lieut. A. Compton, R. E.	1874.
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Cresset, R. E.	1874.
Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusufzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wolcher, R. E.	1874.



Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>N.-W. F. PROVINCE—<i>continued</i>.</b>		
Report on the explorations at mound Sialjika-dheri near Peshawar Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 14th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875
Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 14th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E.	1876.
Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. Maxwell R.E.	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
Mortuary mound excavations at Sken Yusafzai	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1880.
Detailed report of an Archaeological tour with the Buzar Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore	Ditto, 1898
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Annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1906-07.	Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle.	Ditto 1907
Ditto for 1907-08 . . .	Ditto . . .	Commercial Press, Peshawar, 1908.
Ditto for 1908-09 . . .	Ditto . . .	Government Press, North-West Frontier Province, 1909.
<b>BURMA—</b>		
List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Froehhammer, Government Archaeologist, Burma	Government Press, Burma, 1880
<b>Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—</b>		
I The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto	Ditto, 1883.
II The first Buddhist Mission to Suvannabhumi.	Ditto	Ditto, 1884.
List of objects of Antiquarian and Archaeological interest in British Burma	Ditto	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<i>Burma—contd.</i>		
Reports on Archaeological work done in Burma during the years 1879-80. (Being a Review, dated 13th June 1880.)	Dr. E. Forchhammer.	1880.
The Po U Daung Inscription, erected by King Sinhyu in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archaeologist, Burma.	Ditto.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Burma.	Ditto.	Ditto, 1892.
Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archaeologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaucka Temple at Pagan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pagan Districts.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Notes on a tour in Burma in March and April 1891.	F. O. Dettel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.
Notes on an Archaeological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Taung country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the <i>Indian Antiquary</i> by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinhyu in, 1774 A.D.	Ditto.	Ditto.
A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Taung country of Burma.)	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality Burma.	Ditto, 1894.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
<b>BUHMA—<i>conclu</i></b>		
Some remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the <i>Indian Antiquary</i> by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
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Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum Vol I	Ditto	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects antiquarian and archaeological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government	Ditto	Ditto.
Report on Archaeological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03 . . .	Ditto	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, for the year 1903-04 . . .	Ditto	Ditto, 1904.
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Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
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Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto	Ditto, 1909.
<b>MYSORE AND COORG—</b>		
Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Coorg Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.

Title of work.	Name and office designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
<b>MYSORE AND COORG—<i>concluded</i>.</b>		
Inscriptions at Sravasa Belgola, a chief seat of the Jain (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archaeo- logical Researches and Secretary to Government. Mysore	Mysore Government Press, 1889.
Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscrip- tions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto	Ditto, 1894
Ditto, Part II . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kolar District	L. Rice, Director of Archaeo- logical Researches.	Ditto, 1897
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	Ditto	Hassell Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Parts I and II	Ditto	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chital- drug district.	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto, 1903
Inscriptions at Tumkur . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Inscriptions at Kolar . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto, 1906
<b>ASSAM—</b>		
Report on the progress of his- torical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait F.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam	Assam Secretariat Print- ing Office, Shillong, S. I.
List of archaeological remains in the Provinces of Assam.	Ditto, 1902.	





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